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Editors

V. M. KULKARNI

DEVANGANA DESAI

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The Editors thank **Ms. Mrudula P. Joshi** for editorial assistance, and the staff of The Asiatic Society of Mumbai for helping in various matters.

Editorial

We are happy to present this Bicentenary Issue of the Journal of the Asiatic Society. Formed in 1804 and then known as the Literary Society of Bombay, the Society published three volumes called the *Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay* by 1820. The Society's designation changed to the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society in 1826 when it merged with the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland. The first issue of the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* appeared in 1841. Between 1841 and 1923, 26 volumes comprising 75 numbers were published. From 1925 the New Series of the Journal began "with a perfect system of transliteration", under the editorship of Dr. V. S. Sukthankar and Prof. Shaikh Abdul Kadir. So far, 76 volumes of the New Series have been published. Together with the Old Series, this means that a total of 102 volumes precede this present Bicentenary issue.

Until 1954, i.e. Volume 29, the Journal was known as the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society (JBBRAS)*. From 1955, Vol. 30, it began to be called the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bombay*. From the present issue, it is the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Mumbai*.

We are proud to mention that the editors of the Journal include a number of renowned scholars like Dr. P. V. Kane, Prof. H. D. Velankar, Dr. G. M. Moraes and Prof. A. A. A. Fyzee. Among numerous eminent contributors are: Bhau Daji Lad, Bhagvanlal Indraji, James Bird, A. K. Forbes, Jivanji Modi, R. G. Bhandarkar, J. Gerson Dacunha, D. D. Kosambi, D. R. Bhandarkar, B. C. Law, S. N. Gajendragadkar, S. K. Belvalkar, V. Raghavan, Fr. H. Heras, Moti Chandra, Karl Khandalavala, H. D. Sankalia, V. V. Mirashi, V. S. Pathak, Durga Bhagvat, H. C. Bhayani, Parmeshvari Lal Gupta, U. P. Shah, M. A. Dhaky, Sadashiv A. Dange, Ajay Mitra Shastri, Romila Thapar, Kapila Vatsyayan, Pratapaditya Pal, to mention only a few.

The Society's objectives, according to its Constitution, include encouraging the study of research in the languages, philosophy, arts, natural and social sciences in relation to Asia in general and India in particular. Accordingly, the essays in the various issues of the Journal, including the present one, cover subjects on Sanskrit and Prakrit Literature, arts, history, archaeology, epigraphy and ethnography.

We record our gratitude to the distinguished authors from different regions of India and abroad who have contributed to the Bicentenary issue of the

Journal. We are grateful to Mr. B. G. Deshmukh, the President, and Ms. Vimal Shah, the Hon. Secretary, and the members of the Managing Committee and the Journal and Publications Committee for their encouragement and cooperation in our work. We sincerely thank Ms. Mrudula Joshi for editorial assistance and the staff of the Asiatic Society for their help at various stages of work. We are thankful to the Vedvidya Mudranalaya, Pune, for their kind cooperation in the printing work of our Journal for the past 15 years.

20th November, 2003

V. M. Kulkarni, Devangana Desai

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Volumes 77-78/2002-2003

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Yājñavalkya's Contribution to Yoga

Krishna S. Arjunwadkar

The present comparative study is based on the following editions of a work on Yoga ascribed to an ancient celebrity, Yājñavalkya, listed in the chronological order of their publication, each followed by its abbreviated name used in this article. The only other abbreviation used, without prior intimation, is the most common 'MS/MSS' which stands for manuscript/s:

1) **Yogayājñavalkyam** / Edited by K. Sāmbaśiva Śāstri

Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, No. CXXXIV, Trivandrum, 1938 / Pp. iv + 4 + 2 + 47. Prefixed with English and Sanskrit introductions by the editor. (YY-T).

2) **Yoga Yājñavalkya** / Edited by Sri Prahlad C. Divanji

B. B. R. A. Society Monograph No. 3 Bombay, 1954 / Pp. 3 + 96-128 (= 33: Introduction) + 116 (Text with variant readings culled from 16 MSS and 5 printed editions. Judging from its page numbers, the Introduction seems to have formed part of the BBRAS journal.) (YY-B)

3) **Yoga-yājñavalkya-samhita**/ Translated by T. K. V. Desikachar

Krishnamacharya Yoga Mandiram, Chennai, May 2000 / Pp. XXIII + 172. (YY-C). The suffixes in abbreviations (-T-B,-C) are omitted where no reference to a specific edition is intended.

The work treats of the following topics

(Figures in square brackets at the end of the line represent the number of verses in the chapter. Total number of verses 462.):

<i>Ch. One</i>	Orthodox set-up of duties founded on castes and classes. [68]
<i>Ch. Two</i>	: Yoga in eight parts. Yamas (10), Niyamas (10). [19]
<i>Ch. Three</i>	: Āsanās (8). [18]
<i>Ch. Four</i>	: Nāḍī-śuddhi (a sub-topic of Prāṇāyāma). [70]
<i>Ch. Five-Six</i>	: Prāṇāyāma. [21+80]
<i>Ch. Seven</i>	: Pratyāhāras (4). [30]
<i>Ch. Eight</i>	: Dhāraṇā. [23]
<i>Ch. Nine</i>	: Dhyāna. [44]

<i>Ch. Ten</i>	Samādhi. [23]
<i>Ch. Eleven</i>	Performance of sacred duties until death. [21]
<i>Ch. Twelve</i>	Summary. [45]

Agreement and disagreement of YY with Patañjali's Yoga

This outline, presented in the form of a dialogue between Yājñavalkya and his 'wife', Gārgī, would reveal that although the author of YY has accepted the traditional concept of Eightfold Yoga (*aṣṭāṅga Yoga*), he has detailed the eight aids in his own way not in entire agreement with Patañjali's scheme. The Yoga in YY is tailored to the needs of different classes of the society, and even of a householder, and is made to fit comfortably in the standard code of life as recommended by Manu and Yājñavalkya in their renowned codes. Thus, *Yamas* and *Niyamas* are 10 each as against 5 of Patañjali; and what are common to both also differ considerably in their concepts. The concept of *brahmacarya*, celibacy, in YY allows a practitioner to have sexual relations with his consort (YY 1.57), whereas Patañjali would insist on refraining from sexual relations even on mental level. In fact, rules of Yoga in YY mean different things for different classes of the society. The *Yama* called *aparigraha*, meaning possession of no property, enumerated by Patañjali, is altogether absent in the YY list. The work makes Prāṇāyāma an excuse for introducing in Chapter 4 some concepts from Hatha-Yoga such as the 'map' of the human body showing technically conceived power points (*kanda-sthāna* etc) and the positions of breaths (*Prāṇas*), *Nāḍīs* (*Idā, Piṅgalā, Susumnā* etc) in relation to commonly known limbs of the body (navel etc). (The points of agreement or otherwise between YY and the texts on Hatha-Yoga is a separate subject. I do not intend to go into it in the present article.) It includes some information from Āyurveda, too, such as the three humours - *vāta, pitta, kapha* - which constitute the body, the classification of human beings on their basis and the role they play in the context of the Yoga. In brief, YY has toned down Patañjali's Yoga to such an extent as to enable even a person of reasonably moderate habits to make a claim to the honorific designation, 'Yogin'! If one can think of a popular form of Yoga, here it is. Viewed against the background of Yoga as expounded by Patañjali, however, it may appear to be a virtual mockery, rather than an adaptation, of the concept of Yoga, as is vindicated by some crucial details in this article.

The aim and the style of YY

Purāṇic in style, YY presents its subject in a dialogue form characteristic of this class of literature, on the background of an assembly of sages interested in knowing the subject from an authority, as is the vogue. It seems to have collected its material from texts of diverse interests with an obvious intention

of putting together related information, toning it down and reconciling conflicting views. A critical examination of its contents reveals that YY is not indebted to Patañjali beyond the term Yoga and its broad framework. While Patañjali's Yoga borrows its metaphysical view mostly from Sāṃkhya and is professedly aimed at turning the practitioner away from all worldly objects, bondage and activities; the present work attempts to accommodate Yoga in a set-up of Vaiṣṇavite ideals. This fact has led it to define Yoga as a union of the individual soul with the Supreme Self (God) (I.43) and recommend performance of traditionally prescribed duties even after attaining liberation which is possible to attain even during one's lifetime (*jīvan-mukṭi*).

Its crucial relation with Yoga-vāsiṣṭha, and its date

We find the author of *Yoga-vāsiṣṭha* (YV) too defining *jīvan-mukṭi* in such a way as to allow in it a combination of knowledge and action, implying a worldly life little differing from that of other fellow creatures. This common outlook has a crucial bearing on the fixation of the date of YY. As YV cannot be earlier than the 12th century CE (which is the date of the renowned astronomer, Bhāskarācārya, from whom YV borrows crucial information on the nature of space luminaries, I have discussed this point in detail in a separate article due for publication in ABORI, March 2002), YY has to be assigned to a later date. It is amusing to find it being placed by the editor of YY-B (p. 105) in a period prior to Christian era, and believed to be 'one of the oldest' works on Yoga by the translator of YY-C. The editor of YY-T does not attempt to fix the date of the work; he just vaguely remarks that the MS of the work he has used may be about five centuries old.

YY: a mini edition of YV

On the point of performance of worldly duties after liberation, the YV informs us that most of the Rāmāyaṇa characters (Kaikeyī excepted) were *jīvan-muktas*, though in the Rāmāyaṇa itself they appear to manifest characteristics of a common worldly person. It is amusing to note that the author of YY promises liberation in one year if one follows the course he has recommended (IX-40). (This, incidentally, reminds one of Mahatma Gandhi's assurance of independence in one year if people followed his plan thoroughly and scrupulously!) YV also assures attainment of *jīvan-mukṭi* for anyone who listens to YV attentively (YV I.1.52, I.2.10). This outlook has made the two works under discussion compendia of conflicting theories put together with little concern for logical consistency. I have, in my article on YV referred to above, called YV a huge museum; YY with its moderate size can claim to be a mini museum. Considering common features of the two works, including details of Yogic texts such as *prāṇāyāma* (YY Chs. V-VI; YV Chs. V. 54 and VIa. 25) and *nāḍīs* (YY Ch. IV; YV VIa. 24, 81), it may not be unreasonable

to say that YY is an attempt to compress the essential matter in YV into a much smaller size for the benefit of those who are exasperated by the size and the style of YV.

Influence of the Bhagavad-gītā on YY and YV

Both YV and YY are products of a time when the *Bhagavad-gītā* (BG) had become popular, presumably after Śaṅkarācārya (8th-9th century) wrote his commentary on it, and a great many writers composed works in imitation of BG on their favourite subjects and theories, choosing ancient figures of their liking to hold a dialogue with all-time free sages or spiritual candidates. This object is clear even from the phrase '*gītāsu upaniṣatsu*' artificially inserted in the colophon of some chapters (1-5) of the YY-T, and all in YY-C, and occasional lines reminding of the BG in wording or content. It is worth noting that the editor of YY-B (p. 14, bottom footnote) omits this phrase from the colophon on the ground that the Mss show a wide range of variety in the wording of the colophon which fact, according to him, is the result of the copyists' imagination. The author of YV chose Vasiṣṭha to replace Kṛṣṇa of BG, while the author of YY replaced him with Yājñavalkya, another celebrity of ancient times.

Points of difference between YY and YV

The only difference between the authors of YY and YV is on the points of their equipment and the expanse of their works. The author of YV, despite his weaknesses on other counts, is a poetically gifted writer; the author of YY is too simple to deserve even the designation of a poetaster. The former, not satisfied with a smaller size, placed in our hands a work even larger than Vālmiki's Rāmāyaṇa from which he has picked up major characters in his work. This has compelled him to indulge in umpteen repetitions of the same contents, throughout his work. The latter, with his limited equipment, gave us a work even smaller than BG. The only place where YY appears to repeat its contents is in the last chapter of his work offering to summarise the contents of the earlier chapters. The excuse he has offered for this is Gārgī's confession that she forgot what was expounded earlier by her mentor (XI.19)! In reply, however, instead of recapitulating information given earlier, the mentor introduces Yoga in a different scheme of seven steps which no doubt relies on, and picks up most of its material from, the earlier chapters. What is significant is the fact that he discloses this scheme *only to Gārgī* after the rest of the audience retire to their retreats at the bid of the mentor and at the end of the day. (Gārgī's privilege as wife?) It is worth noticing that the author of YY includes even such celebrities among the recipients of Yājñavalkya's knowledge as Vasiṣṭha and Vālmiki, who appear in YV as authorities on this subject. YY obviously imitates the technique of the sectarian

literature to place the deity eulogised above all others. Thus, devotees of Viṣṇu place him above Śiva; those of Śiva just inverse the order. And yet there is a slight difference in the stance taken by the authors of the two works: Yājñavalkya names Brahman, the creator, as the ultimate source of the knowledge of Yoga he is expounding (YY 1.10); Vālmīki, the author of YV, informs us that he wrote the work at the instance of Brahman (YV 1.2.15), claiming the entire credit for himself.

And finally, Gārgī: Yājñavalkya's wife ?

The invention of the author of YY that Gārgī was Yājñavalkya's *wife* took me by surprise, as no old authentic work supports this information. The oldest text (*Bṛhad-āraṇyaka Upaniṣad* [BrU]) in which Yājñavalkya plays an outstanding role does not know this relation between the two. The names of Yājñavalkya's wives as given in BrU are Maitreyī and Kātyāyanī; and Gārgī is a disputant known for her learning who took part in the conference organised by King Janaka and questioned Yājñavalkya on philosophical issues. The two references in the present text which can be regarded as the basis for assuming the said relation between Yājñavalkya and Gārgī follow:

bhāryayā py evam uktas tu... (YY 1.42/43)
 vaktum arhasi tat sarvaṁ tvatto vettā na vidyate /
 ity ukto *bhāryayā* tatra samyak tadgatamānasah //
 gārgīrṁ tām susamālokyā tat sarvaṁ samabhāṣata // (YY IV. 5-6)

These references contradicting a long tradition cannot be accepted as genuine. Most probably, it is a corruption founded on the similarity between the Devanāgarī characters of *a*, *m* and *bh*, resulting in the printed reading *bhāryayā* for (ity ukta?) *āryayā*, where *āryā*, meaning a respectful woman, refers to Gārgī. The confusion is worsened when the note 'Yogī Yājñavalkya' in YY-C adds to the name Gārgī, the remark: 'also known as Maitreyī' (p. XVII). At one place, the two names occur one after the other in the same verse; but the insertion of the particle 'ca' after each name makes the author's intention clear that, to him, they are two different persons. The verse in question runs as follows:

Tām evaṁ guṇa-saṁpannām nārīṇām uttamā vadhūh /
 maitreyī ca mahābhāgā gārgī ca brahma-vid-varā // (YY-T 1.6)

Compare this to the following line from BG (1.6):

Yudhāmanyuś ca vikrānta uttamaujās ca vīryavān /

No one, sufficiently conversant with Sanskrit, would understand this line from BG as making reference to a single person. In the YY quote above,

the words 'nārīṇām uttamā vadhūḥ', immediately preceding Maitreyī, apply to her only; and the epithet 'brahmavid-varā', immediately following Gārgī, to her only. Maitreyī was no doubt fairly equipped to talk intelligently on philosophical issues - 'brahma-vādīnī' as BṛU (IV. 5.1) remarks; but Gārgī was a leading (- varā) authority on Brahman (brahmavid -), as YY remarks, a fact vindicated by her contribution to the conference of scholars called by Janaka.

Theory of Many-sidedness (Anekāntavāda)

and Culture of Tolerance

Madhusudan Baxi

The Jaina theory of many-sidedness of reality comprises a synthesis of one-sided theories and it has been claimed that such a synthesis would obviously promote a culture of tolerance and harmony among different groups. I have here made a distinction between the *non-social reality and social reality*. I have here proposed that due to this distinction, the nature of the applicability of synthesis of theories leading to tolerance will be different. Most of the analysts of Jainism have discussed the *synthesis of theories in the context of metaphysical theories of non-social reality* and claimed that such a synthesis leads to the culture of tolerance. My point is that tolerance is to be fruitfully analyzed in terms of socio-cultural-political domain of ideology, institutional structures, and legitimizing practices of those who use power for social transformation.

In the first section of this paper, I have referred to the general interconnections among many-sidedness, synthesis and tolerance. The second section here deals with the nature of the synthesis intrinsic to the theory of many-sidedness and in the third section, I have highlighted some of the issues in the context of inter-cultural and intra-cultural tolerance.

I

Many-sidedness, Synthesis and Tolerance

The following propositions would clarify the interconnection among many-sidedness, synthesis and tolerance:

1. Reality is many-sided.
2. The best theory that represents such a reality is theory of multiple aspects of reality.
3. Hence all other theories are one-sided theories and only partially true.
4. The theory of many-sidedness therefore synthesizes such partially true theories.

5. The synthesis of such theories would promote a culture of *non-dogmatism, openness and tolerance*.

I illustrate here how some of the analysts of Jainism have linked many-sidedness, synthesis and tolerance.

B. K. Matilal claims that "Jainas carried the principle of non-violence to the intellectual level and thus propounded their Anekānta doctrine. Thus the hallmark of Anekānta doctrine was toleration." (Shah, N. 1999, p. 55). Kapadia states that, "...this doctrine of Anekāntavāda helps us in cultivating the attitude of toleration towards the views of other adversaries." (Shah, N. 2000, p. 129). Ramjee Singh has pointed out that the theory of many-sidedness "represents the highest form of catholicism." (Shah, N. 2000, p. 129). Ramjee Singh also maintains that "Jainism is against all kinds of imperialism in thought" (Shah, N. 2000, p. 134).

The question of identity and difference is the central question of philosophy according to Mohanty. Philosophers can cope with the modern world only by taking a balanced position regarding the opposed alternatives. Many positions from absolutism to dualism and pluralism are available in Indian thought. Mohanty states that, "the one model that I consider most suitable for our present needs is the Jaina Anekāntavāda, Syādvāda and theory of Naya, which is implicitly the Jaina idea of non-injury applied to philosophical thinking... I regard the Jaina philosophical logic as one of the highest contributions of Indian Thought." (Mohanty 2000, p. 24).

Mohanty finds that the modern world demands "a philosophy of multi-culturalism in the right sense, a theory of inter-cultural understanding, a concept of unity which tolerates differences and a concept of justice which is not merely procedural but also substantive and responsive to differences rather than being guided by the levelling sense of equality." (2000, p. 15). Sartre, Husserl and Merleau Ponty have worked out a theory of intersubjectivity. Mohanty thinks that there is a need for a theory of *inter-culturality* parallel to such a theory of *intersubjectivity*. (2000, p. 19).

We thus find that there is a general agreement among different scholars about linking many-sidedness with synthesis and synthesis with tolerance, Synthesis of metaphysical theories is intrinsic to the Jaina theory of many-sidedness.

II

The Nature of Synthesis

Nagin Shah has clearly explained the relation between many-sidedness

and synthesis as under:

“The various non-Jaina systems of philosophy represent aspects of reality and hence they are partially true... The next step is to effect synthesis of different philosophical views into the whole concrete truth. To assign them their proper place in the whole truth and synthesize them into the whole truth is the task of Anekāntavāda at epistemological and logical levels... In this sense, Jaina Anekānta philosophy becomes Philosophy of philosophies. For a synthesis of all possible philosophical views, the Jaina thinkers have devised a methodology of Saptabhaṅgī (the sevenfold predication or sevenfold judgment).” (1999, pp 6-7).

Nagin Shah’s claim thus involves the following points:

1. Reality is a whole. To say that “x is many-sided” is to say that “different sides belong to the same x.”

2. As the philosophical theories are partial, the synthesis involved is *epistemological* and not *ontological*, because *reality itself* is not relative, only the standpoints are relative. The method for such a synthesis is the method of sevenfold conditional predication.

3. The whole is, in *principle*, knowable through synthesis.

4. Nagin Shah has referred to Jainism as a *Philosophy of philosophy*. B. K. Matilal also has pointed out that the theory of many-sidedness is a *meta-metaphysical* theory because, “it is a position about the metaphysical position of other schools.” (Shah, N. 2000, p. 16). Theory of reality has thus to be distinguished from *theory about the theories of reality*. For example, when the Jainas say that a pot exists from a certain standpoint and that it does not exist from certain other standpoint, they are using their theory to refer to *objects*, but when they say that monism is true from a certain standpoint and dualism is also true from a different standpoint, their claim is not about the objects, but it is about the *theories* of objects. When we are talking about objects or entities, our mode of talking is the object-mode and not a meta-linguistic mode.

5. The special contribution of Jainas lies in the claim that the assertion of the standpoint is necessary even for the object language because the objects are intended or referred to by the knowing subjects invariably from a certain standpoint. It means that no proposition, *as a proposition*, can stand by itself. The standpoint *has to be added* to a proposition in order to grasp the *ontological* import of propositions. There is thus no possibility of accepting a

purely *formal* logic of propositions including propositional and predicate logic in Jaina theory. *There is no predication without standpoints. There is also no synthesis without standpoints.* Logic thus is *epistemological with reference to the standpoints* and *ontological with reference to the objects asserted from those standpoints.* I will not develop this theme here any further but only state that the Jaina logic is some kind of epistemic logic different from both the modal logic and the standard formal logic.

6. If you do not conduct any discourse on reality but simply experience it, it does not contain incompatible attributes, *because any incompatibility of the attribution of predicates presupposes different standpoints.* The popular illustration of an elephant shows that an elephant, *as an elephant*, is not an entity having *incompatible* aspects. An elephant is already an elephant and wholly an elephant. It itself does not *gradually emerge into a whole*, when we go on synthesizing its various aspects from different standpoints. It is only when a claim is made that an aspect x is the whole elephant that it has to be corrected. This, in anyway, does not affect the existence of elephants.

In what follows, I have made a brief reference to the types of synthesis claimed by Samantabhadra and Nyayavijayaji. I have shown that some types of synthesis do not strictly follow the logical structure of the sevenfold predication.

Samantabhadra discusses ten themes with a view to show how the Jaina synthesis of conflicting positions can be established. He has dealt with themes like existence-nonexistence, oneness-manyness, permanence-change, difference-identity, etc. The standard procedure of Jaina synthesis is followed here. For example, in the context of the controversy about scriptures as the source of authoritative knowledge, Samantabhadra says that under certain conditions scriptures can function as authoritative source of knowledge and in different contexts, inference can also be a source of knowledge. (Shah, N. 1998, p. 30). However, Nagin Shah has drawn our attention to the *anomalous* structure of Samantabhadra's synthesis in the context of the last two positions relating to certain ethical issues. There Samantabhadra treats both the rival alternatives as irrelevant. Shah finds that "nothing prevents Jainas from rejecting both the proposed solutions of the problem." (Shah, 1999, p. 26). This is a deviation from the position that the partial truth of each of the positions has to be accepted.

I have also found that Shri Nyayavijayaji has offered a synthesis where the rival alternatives are accepted because they are true from the *same* ethical standpoint. Nyayavijayaji considers the rival theories regarding the existence of a world-creating God. He finds that the rival theories about the existence

and non-existence of such a God have the *same ethical goals and orientation*. Both of them want to promote religious righteousness and good conduct. One of them says that God will punish the wicked, whereas the other says that such persons will be punished according to the Law of Karma. Persons who are emotional would tend to accept a creator-God and those who are rational would not accept such a God. Nyayavijayaji thus appeals to *psychological legitimacy* of beliefs in God as well as to the *same type of ethical goals* endorsed both by the believers and their opponents. Both are acceptable from the *same* standpoint. Their truth-claims are not to be considered. *Philosophical* endorsement as well as rejection of Theology, are both *ethically* acceptable. The acceptability of metaphysics is judged by an *ethical criterion* here. Nyayavijayaji appeals to common ethics here perhaps because it would be very difficult to see the point of saying that the thesis of world-creator is only *partially true* and partially false unless one accepts the Indian monistic theory of *avidyā*. As required by the Jaina paradigm, the world is metaphysically real, and hence, the Advaita doctrine of indescribable cosmic ignorance misleading men into certain types of cognitions is not available to the Jainas.

Nyayavijayaji has pointed out that “the ancient propounders of these mutually conflicting philosophical views had only one main purpose in view in propounding them. And that purpose was to make man’s life virtuous, righteous and altruistically active.” (Shah, N. 1998, p. 399). From this it follows that if two rival metaphysical systems clash, but if they accept the same ethical goals, then their differences do not matter at all. Trivialization and marginalisation of the truths of the rival metaphysical positions achieve this synthesis. Nyayavijayaji has considered other positions also. He finds that both monism and dualism have the same spiritually beneficial results. (Shah, 1998, p. 390). Extending the logic of Nyayavijayaji would mean that if both Ekāntavāda and Anekāntavāda have the same ethical consequences, then it does not matter which of them is accepted. This consequence would not have been acceptable to Nyayavijayaji himself. There is thus a conflict between accepting all theories from the standpoint of the *same* ethics and synthesizing partially true theories through the logic of sevenfold predication. In the first, the standpoint remains the same but the propositions change; in the second the standpoint changes but the proposition remains the same.

Such difficulties in the types of synthesis may arise because of the structure of sevenfold predication itself. Pradeep Gokhale, for example, in other contexts, has pointed out that the detailed specification of standpoint is not required by the logical structure of the sevenfold predication. The structure requires only that there should be *some* standpoint. (Shah, N. 2000, p. 53). The specification of all possible standpoints to be incorporated in all the propositions that would come up for consideration is not possible at all. There are specifications of standpoints that do not produce a synthesis but only a

restatement of the original rival positions. For example, to say that monism is true from the standpoint of monists and pluralism is true from the standpoint of pluralists *is not a synthesis* of the rival views but only a *restatement of them*. Synthesis therefore would depend upon the innovativeness of the thinkers who hit upon the right specification of the standpoint. My point here is that to say that reality is permanent from the standpoint of substance and not permanent from the standpoint of modes is a type of synthesis where the *same* statement is first asserted from a certain standpoint and then denied from a different standpoint, but when we say that both monism and pluralism are *equally* acceptable from the *same* ethical standpoint, we are trying to achieve a synthesis where the same ethical standpoint is applied to *different* positions. The implications of such an ethical assessment of metaphysical positions need to be worked out in details. I would only state here that if all the theories are to be evaluated ethically and if they subscribe to the same ethics, Anekāntavāda would lose its special privilege over all other rival theories.

Most of the claims made about the promotion of understanding and tolerance on the basis of Anekāntavāda relate to *intra-cultural* rather than *inter-cultural* contexts. Systems of beliefs within the same cultural tradition are claimed to have been synthesized according to Anekāntavāda.

It requires to be seen how a detailed synthesis of various Western philosophies can be thus advanced. How do we go about synthesizing phenomenology, hermeneutics, structuralism and deconstruction? What would be the point of doing it? *Is theoretical synthesis necessary for tolerance?* Can we not say that there should be tolerance *inspite of irreconcilable differences?* What would it mean to say that even the Western philosophers are highlighting only *partial* aspect of the *same* reality which is best represented by Anekāntavāda? What exactly is that reality? And in what sense do those philosophers represent an aspect of it when they do not share the same language of substance, attributes, modes, permanence and change?

The language of substance, modes etc, is also not crucial to social-cultural-political reality. Language of ideologies is about socio-cultural-political reality and it involves the social structure, roles, rules, procedures, institutions and traditions. The analysis of social knowledge requires meanings, interpretations, norms and values. Therefore, if the concept of synthesis is to accommodate such realities then we should reflect on the issues relating to social, historical, cultural knowledges rather than confine ourselves to metaphysical theories of aspects of non-social psychophysical reality that is neutral among various ideologies. Social reality is partly *constructed* and partly historically *given* and transforming the social reality with reference to the common ideals has no counterpart in the domain of metaphysically

represented static neutral reality. The conflict of ideas relating to modernity and tradition, for example, can not be resolved by saying that both reflect the different aspects of the *same* reality. What is that same reality? Is that reality already given? Is it not something to be maintained by those who endorse the tradition or something to be changed by those who are for promoting modernity?

I am not saying that Anekāntavāda is not applicable to ethics. For example, Nyayavijayaji has preferred to assess even metaphysical theories with reference to ethics. He has also applied the full sevenfold predication to the ethics of killing and the ethics of truth telling. Killing is a sin if committed with attachment, aversion and negligence, but it is not a sin if a wicked man is killed (Shah, 1998, pp. 357-358). Here we do find a synthesis but it is not a synthesis about the aspects of reality. It is about the basis of moral evaluation. Thus, in extending Anekāntavāda to ethics, we are entering a new world of human interpretations, criteria, acts, motives, and goals and the language of justification of rival positions here is different from the standard language of substance and its modes. Of course, in the Indian tradition, we move from natural reality to the moral domain when we bring in the Law of Karma for linking the naturalistic and the moral discourses, but here also, we find many views on the mechanisms of the operation of that law. (For an excellent analysis of the differences in the conceptualization of the Karma-doctrine, see, *Karma and Rebirth in Classical Indian Traditions*, (1983, 1999) edited by Wendy Doniger O'Flaherty). I do not know how these differences can be synthesized and whether such a synthesis, if possible at all, *would be a synthesis of the aspects of the same reality* though it may be a synthesis about the *same moral phenomenon*.

III

Culture of Tolerance

I do not think that all ideologies equally promote the welfare of humanity because what counts as welfare is ideologically determined in different historical periods of the same culture and also of different cultures. All ideologies of social transformation or social order are also not equally tolerable. Anti-Semitism, communalism, racism, etc. can not be synthesized with the goals of secular democratic and open society. *In the social domain, the reality is not already fully pre-given and permanent*. It is historically evolving and there is no finality there. It is historically contingent. Therefore, while extending the Anekāntavāda to *social theories* we have to get clear about the fact that the rival theories there are not about the aspects of an *already existing fully-formed permanent reality with changing modes* but they are about the ongoing social processes leading to some goals. The process can be changed and the goals can be

revised in the light of historically specific situations of a given society. New socio-political structures thus emerge which were non-existent in previous historical periods. Metaphysics of society is different from the metaphysics of natural eternal substances and their changing modes.

Given that the interpreted social world is different from the natural world and given that synthesis in the social domain is not about the partial theories of fully pre-given reality, it would follow that there is no pressure on us all the time to synthesize all rival theories in the name of tolerance.

Even if rival theories are synthesized in social domain of public policy, the point of such a synthesis might be to accelerate social change rather than to reflect a given reality. For example, we can say that reservation of jobs in the Government-service and of some seats in educational institutions for a certain group of people is wrong from the *standpoint of merit-based equality*, but it is *not* wrong from the *standpoint of compensatory equality* for a society with a certain type of social history. In this illustration, I am only following the type of synthesis offered by Nyayavijayaji in the context of the ethics of killing and truth telling.

I would also like to point out that the link between many-sidedness and tolerance turns out to be mainly *cognitive*. It is assumed that once it has been convincingly shown that one-sided theories are only partially true, all will be ready for synthesis and tolerance. Unfortunately *there are non-rational forces at work*, which will block the move from synthesis to tolerance. Groups have a tendency to hold on to their beliefs *irrespective of their irrationality* and the inter-group conflicts continue because some one-sided beliefs promote security, group-affiliation, cultural identity and group-cohesiveness. What the logic of many-sidedness establishes as rational is undermined by non-rational social-psychological forces, which psychological emotional needs at a group-level, suppress his rational dispositions to accept non-one-sided theories.

The famous twentieth century philosopher Karl Popper has stated the *paradox of tolerance* as under: "If a society extends unlimited tolerance, it is likely to be destroyed and toleration with it. So a tolerant society must be prepared in certain circumstances to suppress the enemies of tolerance." (Magee, *Popper* 1985, p. 80, Fontana Modern Masters Series). B. K. Matilal has shown that, "...Jainas were non-dogmatic although they were dogmatic about non-dogmatism." (Shah, 2000, p. 16). This is a paradox of dogmatism. We have sometimes to be *dogmatic* about openness, tolerance and fairness. We have also to be *intolerant* in the interests of maintaining a tolerant society. The problem is that those who have power usually decide how to solve the paradox of tolerance and the paradox of dogmatism and they may not be *rationally dogmatic* and *judiciously intolerant*.

I see the need of making a distinction between micro-ethics at an individual level and macro-ethics at a collective level. The evaluation of the policies and programmes affecting general public social order are as important as the considerations about the individual moral development. For example, the progress from illiteracy to literacy or from male domination to the empowerment of women is not just a matter of individual choices. It is a matter of establishing the right types of socio-economic judicial structures. The establishment of such structures would involve a conflict of socio-political-cultural ideologies between, for example, the liberal ideology based on the enlightenment ideas of free human flourishing in discrimination-free creative environments and the fundamentalist ideology of the return to the old order based *exclusively* on the religious texts. Now it is here very difficult to say that both of them are equally welcome. And it can not be also maintained that as both the positions are relative there is no criterion for the choice between any of them. Positions are relative to standpoints but to say that each standpoint *invariably* captures an aspect of reality might be true about the *neutral natural reality*, but in the *interpreted, dynamic and historically given* reality of human affairs, there need not be any pressure to accept all the standpoints offered, because some of them might be plainly unacceptable due to the general inter-cultural consensus. Such a consensus evolves historically. There was a consensus in the past that the institution of slavery was good. Now it has changed to the position that such an institution can not be tolerated. The same is true of a number of social values.

An interesting passage from Mohanty which throws light on the issues raised here, is as under:

"... any identity of culture, on the one hand, dissipates into endless internal differences... and on the other, may be exemplified at least in some features, in other supposedly foreign identities. Thus every claim to uniqueness of culture is provisional, every identity can maintain itself by suppressing internal differences... The only way this relativism can be overcome... is by postulating one large sphere to which all the others belong as subspheres and with regard to that global sphere, posit universally valid concepts and criteria." (Mohanty, 2000, p. 139).

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Some Observations on Saundarananda of Āśvaghōṣa

Jaya Chemburkar

Mahāyāna Buddhism emerged in the beginning of the Christian era. This school of Buddhism resorted to Sanskrit language for its literary composition, instead of Pāli language. From the beginning of the Christian era Buddhist writers have contributed to Sanskrit literature. One of such eminent writers was Āśvaghōṣa who was a follower of Mahāyāna Buddhism. He was a great poet, dramatist and a Buddhist philosopher as well. His two well-known poems are *Buddhacarita* and *Saundarananda* (*Sau.*). The themes of these poems have been taken from the life of Buddha.

This article proposes to make some observations on Āśvaghōṣa's *Saundarananda*.

Theme of the Saundarananda

The *Saundarananda* is a Mahākāvya, 'epic'. Rhetoricians have laid down the characteristics of an epic, which are well-known to the students of Sanskrit, and hence, they need not be stated here. Āśvaghōṣa has followed these characteristics of an epic. The *Sau.* contains eighteen cantos. The First Canto begins with a salutation to Buddha, just in one line as "*Om namo Buddhāya*". The contents of the theme may be stated in brief as follows.

The theme of the poem centres round conversion of Nanda, half brother of Buddha, to Buddhist Order, against his will. The first three cantos narrate renunciation of the worldly life by Sarvārthasiddha, his practice of austerities and penance and finally attainment of Supreme Knowledge and Truth through deep meditation, and later converting his father Śuddhodhana to Buddhist Order. After Buddha's renunciation, his half brother Nanda ascended the throne. Actual theme of the poem begins from the Fourth Canto. The Fourth Canto describes voluptuous, sensuous behaviour of Nanda, his amorous sports with his queen Sundarī. Nanda was so much blinded with love for his wife that once when Buddha went to Nanda's palace for alms, his arrival went unnoticed and Buddha left the palace without alms. Canto V describes the meeting of Nanda and Buddha. On learning that Buddha went away without alms, Nanda took leave of his queen with great difficulty and rushed to see Buddha. After making obeisance to Buddha, Nanda wanted to come back to his wife. But Buddha tried to separate him from his wife. He led him to a monastery and advised him to restrain his restless mind from the unsubstantial pleasures of love. Nanda, thus admonished by Buddha, agreed to practise yoga. Buddha

told Ānanda, his disciple, to initiate Nanda into mendicant's life. Canto VI describes lamentations of Sundarī on being separated from Nanda. Canto VII describes Nanda's dejection after his initiation. He remembered his wife and lamented over his separation from his wife. Finally, he came to the conclusion that he would not be able to renounce life and become a mendicant, and determined to go home. Canto VIII contains a sermon of Buddha's disciple to whom Nanda informed about his resolve to go home. In order to dissuade Nanda from his resolve, the disciple of Buddha tried to impress on Nanda's mind how a woman is a cause of miseries and calamities. Canto IX continues in the same tone and states that all strength, beauty and manhood are transitory. All this was in vain. The disciple informed Buddha that Nanda's mind was set on pleasures of his home. In Canto X we come across introduction of supernatural element. Buddha summoned Nanda and along with him flew up into the sky and took Nanda to Indra's Paradise. On seeing nymphs in the Paradise Nanda's passion was inflamed. He forgot his wife and expressed desire to obtain the nymphs. Buddha advised him to practise strenuous austerities for obtaining the enjoyments in the company of the nymphs. Nanda agreed and the two returned to the earth. Whole of Canto XI has been devoted to describing how the enjoyments of Paradise are transitory. Ānanda, the disciple of Buddha, advised Nanda to set his mind on final release. Canto XII narrates how on the advice of Ānanda, Nanda gave up the thought of obtaining the nymphs. He went to Buddha and asked for instructions in Dharma. Cantos XIII, XIV, XV lay down strict discipline to be observed by a mendicant as well as a householder. Canto XVI states the Four Noble Truths which Buddha propounded viz. 1) The world is misery, 2) Desire is the cause of misery, 3) Destruction of the cause of misery, 4) Destruction of misery by following the Eightfold path prescribed by Buddha. Canto XVII describes Nanda's departure to forest to free himself of vices and his becoming Arhata by following the teachings of Ānanda. The poem ends at Canto XVIII which describes how Buddha admitted Nanda to his Order of monks and directed him to hold up the torch of revelation for other beings in order to direct them to the path of salvation.

Comments

The language of *Saundarananda* is simple and lucid; the poet has not used long compounds, nor are there complicated constructions. Clarity of thought is noticeable throughout; this was necessary to enable the readers to understand the teachings easily. The poet has embellished his style by profuse use of figures of speech like simile, metaphor, pun on words, alliteration, and so on. Use of roots yielding a variety of meanings e. g. *Sau.* II 28, 29, 35, 36, repeated use of aorist forms, use of adjectives connoting diagonally opposite qualities, e. g. *Sau.* II 4, references from Brahmanic mythology, use of the same root with different prepositions conveying different meanings

e. g. *Sau.* II, 10 are indicative of Aśvaghōṣa's erudition. Statements like those at *Sau.* V. 31, XIV 39 and many more at other places in *Sau.* are based on the wisdom of a philosopher and hence they carry weight of Subhāṣitas, "good words conveying deep significance."

Aśvaghōṣa lived in the beginning of first century CE and the generally accepted date of Kālidāsa is about the fourth and fifth century CE, under the Gupta dynasty. This date makes Aśvaghōṣa the predecessor of Kālidāsa¹. Many expressions and parallel ideas in Aśvaghōṣa's *Sau.* are found in Kālidāsa's works. Therefore, it is assumed that Kālidāsa took clues from the poetry of Aśvaghōṣa and polished these before presenting in appropriate situations. A few of such expressions and ideas found in the *Sau.* and Kālidāsa's works may be cited here.

In the *Sau.* and the *Vikramorvaśīyam* (*Vikra.*) of Kālidāsa, the heroines have been praised in terms conveying identical meaning e. g. Sundarī in *Sau.* has been described as *vibhūṣaṇānāmapi bhūṣaṇam* (ornament of ornaments, *Sau.* IV 12); and *Urvaśī* has been praised as *ābharanasyābharāṇam* (*Vikra.* Act II. 3). The terms *vyapavidhāśaṣpā* (describing a deer from whose mouth grass was dropping down *Sau.* IV. 39) and *vivṛttadr̥ṣṭi* (i. e. Nanda whose gaze was turned back, *Sau.* IV. 40) have been used by Kālidāsa in his *Śākuntalam* (*Śākun.*) while describing a deer that was being chased by Duṣyanta. The gaze of the deer was turned back and fixed on the chariot that was pursuing it and grass was dropping down from its mouth (*Śākun.* I. 7). A person whose mind is led by the judgement of another and who is dependent on another has been described by Aśvaghōṣa as *pratyañeyabuddhiḥ* and *parāśraya* (*Sau.* V. 17). This idea has been presented precisely and briefly by Kālidāsa as *mūḍhaḥ parapratyañeyabuddhiḥ* (*Mālavikāgnimitram* Act I. 2). Aśvaghōṣa has described confused state of the mind of Nanda in the words "*na api yayau na tasthau*", i. e. Nanda neither went away nor stood still. Kālidāsa in his *Kumārasambhavam* at V. 85 has used the same expression as "*Śailādhirājanayā na yayau na tasthau*", i. e. "the daughter of the Lord of the Mountains did neither proceed nor stand", in a dramatic situation to suggest the embarrassment of Pārvaṭī. A person with perfect self-control has been described by Aśvaghōṣa as "He indeed is a true saint and truly steadfast who is not shaken by the onslaught of passions on his heart" (*ākṣipyamāṇo hr̥di tannimittairna kṣobhyate yaḥ sa kṛti sa dhīrah*) (*Sau.* XVI 84); Kālidāsa has glorified God Śiva exactly in similar words when he remarks '*vikārahetau sati vivikrīyante yeṣām na cetāṁsi te eva dhīrah*' "those alone are resolute, whose minds are not affected, even though there exists a cause of perturbation." (*Kumārasambhavam* I. 59). Kālidāsa would not have minded borrowing from a learned person like Aśvaghōṣa. It is noteworthy that even Kālidāsa who enjoys the highest position in the galaxy of Sanskrit dramatists and poets, was impressed by some of these

expressions of Āsvaghōṣa. A *subhāṣitakāra* has rightly said, *guṇī guṇam vetti* "a virtuous person can understand (appreciate) virtues of another person."

Though Āsvaghōṣa was propagating teachings of Buddhism, he has not criticised Vedic rituals and beliefs. He has cited instances of gods, sages and heroes from the Vedic mythology.

Poetry appeals to feelings and emotions and not to reason. The *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* (*Mbh.*) are always referred to as epics. But the *Rāmāyaṇa* only enjoys the status of *Ādī kāvya*, 'The First Poem' because it appeals to emotions, and the *Mbh.* is always considered as history and not a *kāvya*, because of its dry heterogeneous character and absence of emotional appeal, though it is written in poetic form (verse form). The *Sau.* also appeals to reason through its narrations on how this world is full of miseries, how a woman is a bundle of sins and miseries and how company with her results in calamities and downfall. Therefore, it can be said that the *Sau.* is only a sermon written in poetic form (verse form).

According to the rhetoricians that literary composition, the soul of which is sentiment (" *Vākyam rasātmakam kāvyaṃ*" - *Sāhityadarpaṇa* of Viśvanātha) and the subject matter of which is delightful (" *raṃāṇīyārtha pratipādakāḥ śabdāḥ kāvyaṃ*" - *Rasagāṅgādhara* of Jagannātha) is poetry, i. e. readers should get aesthetic pleasure from a poem. When examined in the light of the above definitions of poetry, with all due respect for the learned philosopher Āsvaghōṣa, it may be stated here that the *Sau.* fails to give aesthetic pleasure which a lyric normally gives. Description and development of sentiments are important in a poem. Embellishment of language, descriptions of nature, characterisation, etc. are subordinate. In the *Sau.* except the description of pathos in the lamentations of Sundarī and Nanda in Cantos VI and VII, when they were separated from each other, the rest of the poem is dry. Pessimistic tone prevails throughout the poem.

Āsvaghōṣa had a definite purpose in composing this poem, viz. to preach and propagate Mahāyāna Buddhism. In order to stress and inculcate his instructions on the mind of Nanda, he has used too many repetitions, ignoring the lack of proportions.

Conclusion

After reading the whole poem, the impression created is that the *Sau.* is a sermon in the garb of a poem.² Various aspects of a poem that can be called its merits, such as flowery language, figures of speech, use of words with several meanings, knowledge of grammar and mythology and so on indicating the poet's erudition are met with throughout, but what is most important, viz. the soul of poetry, i. e. *rasa* ('sentiment') from which

aesthetic pleasure is derived is conspicuous by its absence. Āśvaghōṣa appears to have resorted to poetic form because poetry facilitates recitation on religious occasions in the midst of large gatherings and appeals to the masses e. g. the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*.

Āśvaghōṣa was aware of the fact that his poem would not satisfy lovers of lyric poetry. Therefore, at the end of the *Sau.* he has explained his purpose in composing this poem. He states, 'This poem dealing thus with the subject of salvation has been composed in the *Kāvya*-style not to give pleasure, but to further the attainment of tranquillity and with the intention of capturing listeners. I have treated other subjects in it besides salvation in accordance with the laws of a *kāvya* i. e. 'a *Mahākāvya*' in order to make it palatable (*Sau.* XVIII. 63). I have here told the Final Truth under the guise of a *Kāvya*. Let the reader understand this and study attentively that which leads to tranquillity and not that which is merely pleasurable, as only the residue of gold is taken after it has been separated from the metal dust" (*Sau.* XVIII. 64). Āśvaghōṣa combines in himself a philosopher and a poet, but in the *Sau.* the philosopher has overshadowed the poet.

Notes and References

1. C. Kunhan Raja pp. 96, 97.
2. *Ibid*, p. 131.

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Secular Element In Vedic Ritual

Sindhu S. Dange

The Veda is composed of *mantras* and *brāhmaṇas**. While the *mantras* (formulas, which are to be chanted) are invariably associated with the performance of any ritual¹, the *brāhmaṇas* are the injunctions for performing rites and rituals.² The information about these cannot be obtained from any other source except the *brāhmaṇas*. The last part of the *brāhmaṇa* portion is termed *arthavāda*³. *Arthavāda* is defined as a statement containing either praise of the *vidhi* (i. e. the rite or ritual, which is enjoined) or condemnation of the *vidhi*, which is prohibited.⁴ Āpastamba states *arthavāda* as having four types and adds to praise (*prāśastiya*) and condemnation (*nindā*), two more types, viz. *parakṛti* (whatever is done by a single person) and *purākalpa* (what has been done in the past by two or more persons).⁵ Really speaking, these two – *parakṛti* and *purākalpa* – have a thin line of demarcation, for *parakṛti* contains the accounts of the sacrifices performed by the ritualists, also of the gifts to the priests and *purākalpa* means the olden accounts of sacrificial rituals, performed in former times by gods as well as by men of hoary past. Śabarāsvāmin has added eight more types of *arthavāda*, under the *sūtra* of Jaimini (Jaimini's *Pūrvamīmāṃsāsūtra* II. 1.33), thus totalling twelve. From another point of view, *arthavādas* are classified broadly under three types viz. Guṇavāda, Anuvāda and Bhūtārthavāda.⁶

The relevance and usefulness of *arthavāda* in the ritual set-up has been a vexed question.⁷ Śāyaṇācārya in his commentary on the *Rgveda* (*RV*) says that Jaimini (the composer of the *Pūrvamīmāṃsāsūtras*) had to take great pains to establish the authoritativeness of the *arthavāda*.⁸ As the Vedic ritual-texts are mainly injunctive in nature, the *arthavādas* (of any type mentioned above) apparently stand as irrelevant, for they do not enjoin anything of the rites and rituals, but simply speak about some worldly matters. If we probe the matter further, we come to agree with the Mīmāṃsakas that the *arthavāda*-part eulogises and commends what is enjoined as *vidhi* and so it stands relevant. In this regard, the doctrine of Ekavākyatā (dealing with syntactical connection), originally proposed by Jaimini and later on used by the Mīmāṃsakas, can be taken into account. It works in two ways – (1) There is syntactical relation between the injunctions (*vidhis*) of the subsidiaries (*aṅgas*)

* This article forms a part of the author's project, aided by the U.G.C., on "Arthavāda-A Study in Vedic Ritual Reasonings", which is to be published shortly.

and those of the principals (i. e. main rites and rituals), (2) There is syntactical unity between the *arthavādas* and their corresponding injunctions (*vidhis*).⁹

So far as the texture of these two parts viz. *vidhi* and *arthavāda*, is concerned, we notice that while the statements of *vidhi* are direct, at times pithy, those of the *arthavāda* are elaborate, for they have to be eulogising in nature, at times even condemning the prohibited *vidhi* and on the whole convincing in nature. And as far as their contents are concerned, they display a myriad 'secular' treasure of beliefs, practices, mythical and legendary accounts of bygone ages, as well as *gāthās* and *ślokas*, even etymologies, which though sometimes are 'made to order' for praising the *vidhis*, have at times folk-beliefs peeping through them.

Here we come to a vital point as to how the 'secular' helps the 'sacred' to sustain. By 'secular' we mean all the matter which originates in the folk-tradition, and is mainly in the form of beliefs, practices, expressions and sayings popular among common masses, the latter pointing to the style also in which this secular matter at times is stated in the ritual texts. In spite of the fact that in the Vedic ritual tradition, even a trivial secular matter discussed in connection with any rite or ritual becomes sacred and cannot be strictly separated from the latter, still we have our efforts in that direction, as is proposed in the present paper.

Such secular literature, to some extent, can be traced to the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (*Śat. Br.*), which prescribes the study of the Anuśāsanas, Vidyās, Vākovākya, Itihāsa-Purāṇa, *nārāśamsīs* and *gāthās* along with the *RV*, *Yajurveda* (*YV*), *Sāmaveda* (*SV*) and *Atharvaveda* (*AV*) in its XI *kāṇḍa* (*Śat. Br.* XI. 5. 6. 4-8). The *Brhadāranyaka Upaniṣad* (*Brhad. Up.*) also echoes the same thought. (II. 4. 10; IV. 5.11). The Anuśāsanas, Vidyās and Vākovākya are taken by some scholars as related to the Veda.¹⁰ But Itihāsa-Purāṇa, *nārāśamsīs* and *gāthās* are certainly from the secular tradition. The term Itihāsa can be explained as '*iti-ha-āsa*' ('This was so') and the Purāṇa could mean an ancient text.¹¹ The words *nārāśamsī* and *gāthā* can be traced to the *Rgveda*.¹² *Nārāśamsī* is a song in praise of 'nara' i. e. the king. *Gāthā* (fr. the root $\sqrt{\text{gai}}$ – 'to sing') is initially to be sung by the priests or the lute-players. In the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* (*Tait.Br.*) occurs an old account that once the gods separated the dirty part from the Divine Speech and also from the food. The dirty part from the Divine Speech became the *gāthās* and *nārāśamsīs* while that of the food became wine (I.3.2.6). The difference between a *ṛc* and a *gāthā* is pointed out by the *Āitareya Brāhmaṇa* (*Āit.Br.*) calling the first '*daiva*' i. e. divine and the latter '*mānuṣa*' i. e. human (VII. 18 = 33.6).

This view-point of the *Āit. Br.*, as we have noted above, provides a clue for the occurrence of several *gāthās* (and if compared with the other Brāhmaṇas,

maximum number of *gāthās*) in the *Ait. Br.* As *gāthā* is 'human' (i. e. composed by men and not 'seen' by a seer), it seems easily available and also handy for being included in the ritual-text. Many of these *gāthās* might be from the floating mass of literature and could have served as public literary property, to be drawn upon by anybody. *Gāthās* might not strictly be from the non-Vedic circles but they were definitely from the non-ritualistic tradition, thus the secular tradition. The *Ait. Br.* introduces a unique type of the *gāthās* viz. '*yajñagāthā*'. These *yajñagāthās* were composed by the ritualists on the lines of the popular *gāthās*, in order to propagate their own rites and rituals.¹³ The examples of these are dealt with in detail by the present author elsewhere.¹⁴

Here a note has to be taken of the Pāriplava cycle of legends, consisting of mini-cycles, each of ten days, mentioned in the context of Horse-sacrifice. This cycle lasted for one year, while the sacrificial horse was away from the sacrificial chamber with the royal entourage. When the Hotr priest had completed his work for the day, chief lute-players were asked to sing the deeds of the past righteous kings along with those of the present sacrificer-king, thus bringing the latter in line with the former. Mention is here made along with the *RV*, *YV*, *AV* and *SV*, specifically that of the various Vedas (Vidyās i. e. lores) viz. Sarpavidyā, Devajanavidyā, Māyāveda, Itihāsaveda, Purāṇaveda (*Śat. Br.* XIII. 4.3.3-15). The mention of the last five Vedas shows that much secular literature (in the oral form) had been collected by the time of the *Śat. Br.* and though the details of it are not specifically mentioned here, it used to be recited in the Pāriplava *ākhyāna* (cycle of legends). It was the tradition of the Sūtas, which played a vital role in the composition and preservation of the secular type of literature. R. N. Dandekar says that right from the beginning there were two traditions viz. Mantra-paramparā and Sūta-paramparā,¹⁵ while Hariappa says that such a tradition of preserving narratives could be dated even prior to the Ṛgvedic times.¹⁶ This point of the Sūta tradition has been dealt with in detail by the present author elsewhere.¹⁷

Along with the *gāthās* and the *yajñagāthās*, mention has to be made of the *ślokas*, few of which originated in the secular circles, while most of them were composed by the ritualists themselves, to serve as *mantras*,¹⁸ taking the help of the popular style.

The *gāthās*, *yajñagāthās* and *ślokas* served as the *arthavāda* portions of various *vidhis*.¹⁹ It has to be noted that these compositions were strictly not 'sacred' in nature and were on secular or profane level, but got entry into the sacred literature, as it was the need of the ritualists to make themselves convincing with the help of these compositions, as supportive statements.

Here we can take a note of only some examples of beliefs, practices, mythical accounts and even etymologies, in order to see how the 'sacred' takes the help of the 'secular' in order to establish itself.

In the Vedic rituals, some trees are spoken of as sacrificial trees, right from cups and ladles prepared out of their wood, to the shoots and fruits to be got from some of them; they are said to be ritually important, as is enjoined in the various rituals. The *arthavādas* (in fact the ritual reasonings) which occur in these rites and rituals (*vidhis*) speak of the beliefs of those times.²⁰ Here we take only one example and it is of the Avakā plant (a mossy plant generally known as 'śaivāla'), the use of which is laid down in some rituals. In the rite of building the Great Fire-altar (Agnicayana rite), when the Fire-altar is built up, the sacrificer or the priest on his behalf, fastens a frog, Avakā plant²¹ and a bamboo-shoot to a cane and drags them over all the parts of the Fire-altar (*Śat. Br.* IX. 1.2.20) and thereby he places calmness into Agni's own self (*Ibid.* 30). In the third layer of the Agnicayana rite, are to be placed the Ṛtavyā bricks (fr. 'rtu' - 'season', Seasonal bricks) in the name of the seasons Nabha and Nabhasya (the two rainy seasons). These two bricks (Nabha and Nabhasya) are placed on the Avakā plants and they are again to be covered by the Avakā plants. As these mossy plants (springing at the watery places) stand for waters, their use is enjoined for getting abundant rains in that season (*Ibid.* VIII. 3.2.5). This is obviously based on the principle of magic viz. 'Like produces like.'

Here the etymology of the word 'avakā' which comes again as the *arthavāda*, also springs from the same belief about these mossy plants. It is said that the vital breaths called here 'ṛṣis' (as they wore themselves out, - fr. √ṛṣ - 'to wear out or get exhausted' 'with toil and austerity') made Agni and sprinkled water on him. That water dripped and became frogs. The waters said then to Prajāpati that their essence (*ka*) had gone down (*avāk*). So the waters came to be known as 'avakkās', which mystically are called by the people as 'avakās' = *Avakās* - the mossy plants (*Ibid.* IX. 1.2.21-22, 24). The etymology, no doubt, is a play on words, nevertheless, showing that it has sprung from a folk-belief about the Avakā plants. There are many such etymologies in the *arthavāda* portions of the ritual-texts, through which speaks out the folk-mind. The *Tait. Sam.* in the context of the Agnicayana rite speaks of the Avakā plant as the cream of waters (V 4.4.1,2 - *apām saro 'vakā...*). It is interesting to note that in the ritual of constructing a house also, before installing pillars in the pits, Avakā plant and Śipāla plant are to be put in the pits by the householder. It is said that by doing this, Agni would never burn the house of the householder (*Āśvalāyana Gṛhyasūtra* II. 8. 14).

In the passage from the *Śat. Br.*, which we have discussed regarding the Avakā plant, could be noted a belief about the frogs, which are also connected with waters - nay - which are regarded as the controller of waters in a wider folk-belief. The Frog-hymn in the *RV* (VII. 103) is a rain-spell. If the rain tarries, frogs are placed in a pitcher and then the water with

the frogs is sprinkled. The boys colour their faces black and leap like frogs.²² In Assam a male frog and a female frog are married in order to get rains.²³ Here the idea of rains is combined with that of fertility. In Assam, if the rains do not come at the proper time, among the Behir people, the practice is as follows. The low class women catch frogs, which are kept in an earthen pitcher. Women of every house pour water in it. Then that pot is emptied in the courtyard of a quarrelsome woman,²⁴ who obviously shouts, may be in a very loud tone. This, combined with the ritual presence of the frogs, induces the thundering of the clouds followed by torrential rains. The belief is not restricted to Indian soil only but can also be found in other lands.²⁵ The *Śat. Br.* makes use of this belief in the ritual of fastening to a cane, a frog together with the Avakā plant and a bamboo-shoot, and dragging it over all the parts of the Great Fire-altar.

Here we take into account the belief underlying the practice of giving name to a child. In the context of the Agnicayana rite occurs a mythical account, which runs as follows. It is said that the lord of beings (beings regarded as the seasons), is the Year (Sarnvatsara) and Uṣas (Dawn) is the mistress. These same beings and the Lord of the beings (i. e. Year) laid seed into Uṣas. A boy was born in a year. The boy cried. Prajāpati asked as to why the boy was crying. The boy said that as there was no name given to him, he was not guarded against evil. So Prajāpati then gave him the name 'Rudra.' The *Śat. Br.* says that therefore a name should be given to a boy (i.e. child) to protect him from evil. Even a second or a third name should be given to a boy, for it frees him from evil, time to time (*Śat. Br.* VI. 1.3.8-10). The idea that anyone born sound and safe has to be given a name occurs in the *Śat. Br.* It is enjoined in the Agnicayana rite, that after having performed the Vaiśvakarmanā oblations, he has to give a name to the fire of the altar, as Agni has indeed been born sound and safe (*Ibid.* IX. 5.1.52). The concept underlying 'name' is that it stands for the very person to whom it is given. In the passages from the *Śat. Br.* noted by us, this text echoes the belief in the efficacy of 'name', which is conceived not as a series of syllables articulated with more or less tonic accent, but as a chanted declamation, in which rhythm, note and tone constitute the essential elements. Such an enunciation is connected with the general theory of voice-magic²⁶. The name of a person thus stands as his very soul - his 'name soul.'²⁷ The above concept is at the basis of keeping the real name secret and giving another name to the boy for daily use. The reason is that if a person knows the real name of someone, by conjuring the latter with magic, he can harm him. It is interesting to note that even the side-altars (Dhiṣṇiyas) are asked by the gods to take two names. And they become fires (Āhavanīya, Āgnīdhṛīya, Hotṛīya and Mārjāliya). The mythical account in the *Tait. Sam.*, while elucidating the Soma-sacrifice, runs as follows. The side-altars or the subordinate altars (Dhiṣṇiyas-the fire-places are a heap of

earth covered with sand on which fire is placed) guarded Soma in the yonder world. Soma was taken away from them. But they followed Soma and surrounded it. Deprived of the Soma, the fire-places requested gods for it, who advised the former to take two names each, which they took as we have noted above (*Tait. Sam.* VI. 3.1.2,3). The belief regarding name, made use of by the *arthavāda* is for pointing out that the regular fire-altars are the same as the Dhiṣṇiyas or *vice-versa*.

We have noted some beliefs and one etymology. Let us see a practice prevalent in those times, through *arthavāda*-passages. The practice of giving hospitality to a guest dates back to the *RV*, where at several places, Agni is called an *atithi* (*RV* I.73.1c; IV.4.10cd; V.1.9d etc.) The *AV* devotes one full *kāṇḍa* (*XV kāṇḍa*) for this, eulogising the Mahāvratya and dealing with the hospitality to be shown to him. In the ritual tradition, who else can there be a guest par excellence but Soma? In the Soma-sacrifice, the Soma (in the form of shoots) which is purchased, is treated as a guest of honour. The *arthavāda* mentions a then prevalent practice by saying that for a human guest, say a king or a *brāhmaṇa*, one cooks a big ox or a big goat. For Soma the king, the offering is the one befitting the gods (*Śat. Br.* III 4.1.1,2). The *Ait. Br.* states that for king Soma, they slay i. e. kindle the fire, for Agni is the sacrificial victim (*paśu*) of the gods (I. 15=3.4).

Next to Soma is the Sun, who is '*eka-atithih*' – 'the guest par excellence' or 'the excellent guest', as we have the expression '*ekvīrah*' i. e. 'the foremost warrior.' For this special guest, oblations are offered in fire in the morning, when he rises (*Ait. Br.* V 29-31=25. 4-6). That Agni is a form of the sun is a concept firmly rooted in the Vedic ritual tradition. The *Śat. Br.* says that when the sun sets, then Agni is the light and when the sun rises, then Sūrya (i.e. the sun) is the light (II. 3.1.36). So for the sun, the oblations are offered in fire in the evening also. The *Ait. Br.* quotes a *gāthā* to point out that the sins befalling a person²⁸ mentioned in that will accrue to a person, who turns away 'the excellent guest' i. e. the sun, in the evening. Hence the evening oblations offered in the fire for the sun. The *Ait. Br.* here speaks out the opinion of the thinkers that 'A guest arrived at the evening time should not be turned away.' (V.30 = 25.5).²⁹ The idea underlying the hospitality to be shown to the guest was not of universal kindness as maintained by Kane,³⁰ but was of fear of the guest, who was invariably a person unknown to the householder, as 'guest' was a person, wandering from place to place.³¹ The guest is regarded to have a potentiality to do harm and prove dangerous to the householder, taking away all the latter's merit, but if given proper honour and hospitality, to bless the householder and enable him to go to the heavenly world.³²

From among the mythical accounts coming as *arthavāda*, we take here

a mythical account which figures in praise of the rite of Agnicayana. It is said that the gods were afraid of Prajāpati – the Year - Death - Antaka (i.e. One who ends the life of beings) – that he would by day and night reach the end of their life. They performed several types of sacrificial rites and also built a Fire-altar, but not in a proper manner. The performance of all these rites, even of building the Fire-altar, could not make them immortal. And there came Death complaining to the gods that if all men followed them in their foot-steps by building the Great Fire-altar, they all would be immortal, with no share of them left for Death. The gods pacified him by saying that thereafter no one would be immortal with the body. Only when Death had taken away that body as his share, the man separated from the body, would become immortal through his knowledge and his holy work, these two obviously concerning the Great Fire-altar (X.4.3.3-9). Though stated to extol the rite of Agnicayana, the mythical account speaks of a lofty thought that man becomes immortal by his knowledge and the holy work which he performs. We are here reminded of the thought in the *Bṛhad. Up.*, where Yājñavalkya tells Ārtaḥbāga that after death, a man known to be righteous remains due to his good deed and sinful due to his sinful deed (III. 2.13).

These *arthavādas* taken for consideration bear the fact that the ritual thinkers always have to catch the finger of secular matters and have to come to the profane level in order to be convincing, never losing sight of the rites and rituals to be enjoined by them. But for the secular matters, there seems no need to fall back on the sacred level, since they have survived in spite of it, for they are originated in the non-ritualistic secular tradition, with its beliefs and practices, which have remained undated and also independent by themselves unlike the ritualistic tradition. This is the bare fact about the *arthavāda* portions of the Vedic ritual texts, in spite of the standpoint of the Mīmāṃsakas that *vidhi* and *arthavāda* are inter-dependent, thus indicating equal importance of both. However, we have to admit that this undated independent secular tradition of the hoary past has come down to us only by its being incorporated in the ritualistic tradition. Had it not been the case, the records of these beliefs and practices in the secular tradition would have remained only in the form of floating mass, having only the 'mouth-to-mouth' circulation.

Notes and References

1. *Arthasaṅgraha*, ed. by Paranjape, S. M., Bombay, 1927, p. 251; also *Ibid.*, p. 51, for the statement from the *Mīmāṃsāparibhāṣā*.
2. *Āpastamba Śrautasūtra* (= *Āp. S. S.*) XXIV 1.32.
3. *Arthasaṅgraha*, p. 51, where the statement is quoted from the *Mīmāṃsāparibhāṣā*; also *Āp. S. S.* XXIV 1.33.

4. *Arthasaṅgraha*, p. 353 --- *prāśastyānindānyataraparam vākymarṭhavādaḥ* /
5. *Āp. Ś. S. XXIV* 1.33; also *Mīmāṃsābālaprakāśa*, p. 51.
6. *Arthasaṅgraha*, p. 361.
7. *Pūrvamīmāṃsāsūtra* I. 2. 1-18.
8. Sāyaṇa's Introduction (*bhūmikā*) to his commentary on the *RV*, I *maṇḍala*, published by the Vaidika Samshodhana Mandala, Pune, 1933, p. 10 – *arthavādabhāgasya prāmānyam mahatā prayatnera jaiminiḥ samarthayāmasa* |
9. See Navathe, P. D., "On the Mīmāṃsā Doctrine of Ekavākyatā," *Proceedings of the Winter Institute on "Ancient Indian Theories on Sentence Meaning"*, University of Poona, Pune, p. 190.
10. See Dange, Sindhu S., *Aspects of Speech in Vedic Ritual*, Aryan Books International, New Delhi, 1996, p. 206 ff.
11. The *Brahmaṇḍa Purāṇa* gives the etymology as - "As they say (*aṇanti*) it in ancient times (*purā*), it is called Purāṇa." see *Ibid.* II. 4.4.54 cd.
12. For '*gāthā*' *RV* VIII. 32.1; 71.14; IX. 99.4 etc.
'*gāthāpatī*' *Ibid.* I. 43.4.
'*gāthāni*' I. 190. 1; VII.92.2
and such words as '*rjūgāthā*'; '*gāthin*' etc.
13. At the time of sacrifice, all the ritualists (*yajñikas*) came together and sang some *gāthās*, by which those *gāthās* are called *yajñagāthās*. See Sāyaṇa on *Ait. Br.* VII. 8=32. 7; VII. 9 = 32.8; V. 6 = 22. 1 etc. etc.
14. See Dange, Sindhu S., *op. cit.* p. 213 ff.
15. Dandekar, R. N., "The Mahābhārata : Origin and Growth", *University of Ceylon Review*, 12, 1954, p. 65ff.
16. Hariappa, H. L., *Rgvedic Legends Through the Ages*, Poona, 1953, p. 132.
17. See Dange, Sindhu S., "Sūta – The Paurāṇika", *Purāṇa*, All India Kashiraj Trust, Varanasi, Vol. XL, No. 2, July 1998, pp. 83.91.
18. Dange, Sindhu S., *op. cit.*, pp. 215-227.
19. *Ibid.* pp. 206-230, where a full chapter "Songs from Secular Tradition" deals with *gāthās*, *yajñagāthās* and *ślokas*.
20. Dange, Sindhu S., "Trees in Vedic Ritual Tradition", *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bombay*, Mumbai, Vol. 76 for 2001 (New Series) Pub. in 2002, pp. 9-20.
21. Eggeling, J., translates the word '*avakā*' in this section of the *Śat. Br.* as 'lotus or lotus-flower', which is not correct. See Eggeling, J., *The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, Pt. IV, SBE Vol. 43, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1978 (1885), pp. 174-176. (tr. of *Śat. Br.* IX. 1.2.20, 22-25). But he corrects himself further, when he says - "In *Śat. Br.* IX. 1.2.22 read *Avakā* plant instead of lotus-flower". See Eggeling, *op.cit.*, Pt. V. Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1978 (1900), p. 436, note 2. Mahīdhara

on *Vājasaneyī Samhitā* (XVII. 4) translates 'avakayā' as 'śevālena', 'śevāla' meaning a mossy plant.

22. Mitra, Sharat Chandra, "Frog in the North Indian Rain-controlling Rites", *Folklore and Traditions in India*, Vol. XIV. p. 429 ff.
23. Saikia, T. C., "Frog-marriage in Assam", paper read in the Anthropological Section, All India Sociological Congress, Lahore, Jan. 1927.
24. Chaube, Ganesh, "Behir Songs for Rain", *Bhāratīya Vidyā*, Vol. VI. Jan.-Feb. 1945, p. 76.
25. *Folklore and Legends Oriental*, London, 1890, p. 59ff; Lang, Andrew, *Myth, Ritual and Religion*, London, 1913, p. 42.
26. Hastings, James (Ed.), *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. 9, p. 134 b.
27. *Ibid.*, p. 135a.
28. The *Mahābhārata* (*Mbh.*) deals at a great length with this topic of the theft of lotus-fibres, and states a long list of sins befalling a guilty person. *Mbh.* Anuśāsana-parvan, 93. 71-145; 94. 1-54.
29. cf. *Manusmṛti* III. 105, also repeats the same thought, saying that a guest arrived at the evening time is brought by the sun (at the door of the householder).
30. Kane, P. V., *History of Dharmasāstra*, Vol. II, pt. II, BORI 2nd Reprint, Poona, 1974, pp. 749 ff.
31. For the etymologies of the word 'atithi' stated by Yāska, *Nirukta* IV. 5 - fr. the root \sqrt{at} - 'to go'; also fr. the word 'tithi' (day) and 'a' in the word 'atithi' meaning 'comes' fr. *abhi* + \sqrt{i} ; Sāyaṇa while explaining the word *atithim* (*RV* VIII. 84. 1a), derives it from the root \sqrt{at} - 'to go', with the Ūñadi suffix *thin*.
32. For information, see Dange, S. S., "Atithi - A Probe in Concept", *Studies on Indology* (Prof. Mukund Madhav Sharma Fel. Vol.), Sri Satguru Publications, a division of Indian Books Centre, Delhi, 1996, pp. 119-122.

Heliodorus Pillar from Besnagar:

Its Capital and Worship

Meera I. Dass

1. Introduction¹

To the north of the ancient city of Besnagar and across river Bes (ancient Vidiśā) is a pillar known as Heliodorus pillar to the scholars and *Kham Bābā* to the locals (Plate I and Fig. 1).² The pillar stands at 5.35 m high above a *cabutarā* 3.65 m square and .90 m high. The first 1.3 m of column is octagonal, ending in a half lotus design. The next length of 1.85 m has sixteen sides ending with a festoon that encircles the shaft. The pillar above is thirty-two sided for a height of 30 cm before becoming circular for 65 cm. An inverted bell capital above the shaft is topped with a square abacus. The abacus is carved with pecking geese and a flower motif in-between.

Ruins of Besnagar, a third century fortified town, are located at the confluence of rivers Bes and Betwa (ancient Vetrāvati)³ that is 5 km to the north of present day Vidiśā in Central India. The rivers of Bes and Betwa start their journey from the hills of Paripatrā near Bhopal and on reaching Besnagar they flow parallel for nearly 3 km towards the east when Betwa suddenly turns sharply to the north (*Uttaravāhinī*) for about a km to meet Bes at a place called Trivenī. There is a third stream called Chowkrel that separates Betwa into two, just before the junction point. The island thus created is called *carāṇa tīrtha*. The *Skanda Purāṇa* refers to Vidiśā as a *tīrtha* or holy place that should be visited after visiting Someśvara.⁴ *Trivenī* and *Uttaravāhinī*, both conditions, make the town (Besnagar) a sacred place or *tīrtha*.

2. Discovery and Early Publication

Heliodorus Pillar was first mentioned by Alexander Cunningham in 1876-77 who thought it was the most novel and curious discovery that he had ever made.⁵ He was not wrong in judging its importance but missed out on the inscription, although he had guessed its presence. On stylistic grounds he dated it to 200-300 CE, during the Gupta period. In his report, Cunningham mentioned only *makara* and fan-palm capital from this place.⁶ It is difficult to believe that he saw only these two objects on the site as H. H. Lake, C. E. from Gwalior State, collected many more artefacts from here in 1910,

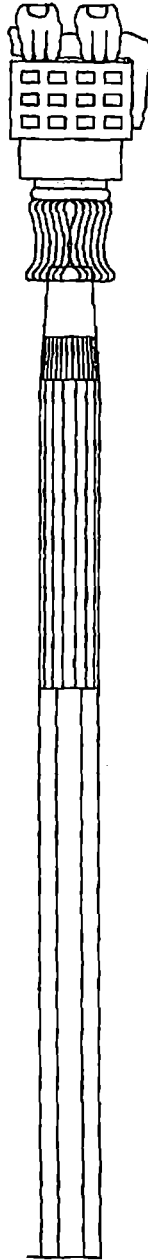


Fig. 1: Conjectural Reconstruction of the Pillar

most of them from the surface.⁷ Lake found at least one other fan-palm capital from this very spot, which he says, was not mentioned by Cunningham. It appears Cunningham may not have mentioned all that he saw. It must be remembered that Cunningham lost some of his material that went down with the *Indus*, the vessel that sank near Jaffna in Sri Lanka.⁸

It was however, the discovery of inscriptions on the pillar, by Lake (1910), that turned out to be the most sensational and important.⁹ The inscription identified the pillar as a *Garuḍa-dhvaja*, consecrated to Vāsudeva by Heliodorus, son of Dion and an envoy from the Greek governor Antialkidas of Taxila. The author of the inscription calls himself a *Bhāgavata* and mentions Kāśīputra Bhāgabhadra as the king. A second and smaller inscription talks of three steps towards immortality.¹⁰ The inscription placed the Pillar to second century BCE, on the basis of Antialkidas who was known to the scholars from his coins and other sources. This was a much earlier date than anticipated by Cunningham. Thus, the history of Vāsudeva worship had to be revised to an earlier date and contemporary to Buddhism.

On the behest of John Marshall, the then Director General of the ASI, D. R. Bhandarkar took up further excavations on this site in 1913.¹¹ During his extensive excavations in this area he discovered a Mauryan period canal and railings but failed to find: (a) the temple of Vāsudeva; (b) the capital of *Garuḍa-dhvaja* and (c) the main deity of the temple.

It was however M. D. Khare who could excavate the double apsidal plinth of the Vāsudeva temple from under Bābājī's house located to the west of the pillar in 1963.¹² He also discovered pits of seven more pillars alongside the Heliodorus Pillar. Out of seven pillars located in a row and aligned north-south, Heliodorus Pillar formed the northernmost pillar. The eighth pillar stood a little away to the east of the central column.¹³ Shafts of none of the other pillars could be found, although a fragment with inscription found by Lake from the streets of present day Vidiśā proclaims it to be a *Garuḍa-dhvaja* installed in *Vāsudeva Prāsādotama* by Gotamīputra Bhāgavata.¹⁴ This shaft is octagonal and may have come from the Heliodorus Pillar site, as there could not have been one more famous temple (*Prāsādotama*) of Vāsudeva in the region than the one in question. There is a possibility that there were two *Garuḍa-dhvajas* as there were also two *Tāla-dhvajas* in front of the temple. It appears therefore, that all these pillars stood in front of the most famous temple of Vāsudeva that attracted attention and admiration of Heliodorus from as far away as Taxila. The aim of the present paper is however, to address the issue of the capital of Heliodorus Pillar and to identify it with the capital in Gurjarī Mahal Museum at Gwalior and to dwell upon the ritualistic importance of the Heliodorus Pillar.

3. Capital of Hellodorus Pillar

In the Gurjarī Mahal Museum at Gwalior, there is a capital with a square abacus with *vedikā* railing motif (Pl. II and Fig. 2). Made of Udayagiri sandstone, the capital is displayed along with the other objects from the site. The objects kept next to the capital are the ones collected by Bhandarkar, Lake and Cunningham. All these objects such as the *makara*, fan-palm capitals and others are embedded to the ground in concrete and are in the location as originally displayed. The exhibits were acquired by the museum in 1927-28, according to the museum's accession register, from what is described by both Lake and Bhandarkar as site museum Besnagar. The capital in question was one of these.

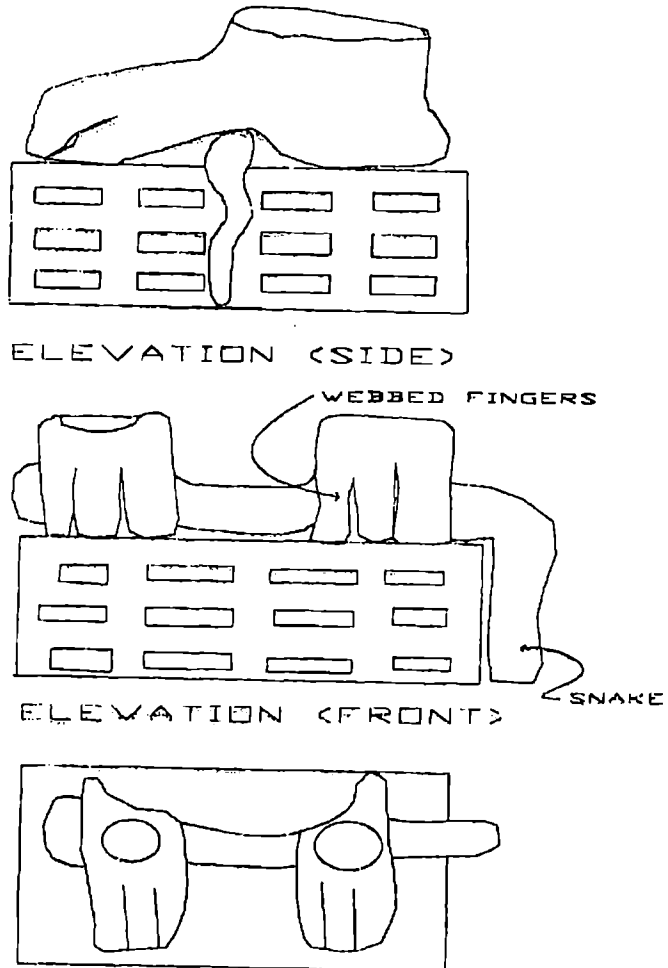


Fig. 2: Garuḍa Capital

The capital has a square base of 53 x 57 x 27 cm. Claws of a bird are shown on the top and are monolithic with the base (Fig. 2). The claws have a toe pointing backwards and three webbed fingers facing the front. The leg extends 20 cm upwards. Both the legs have a circular mortice hole of 10 cm diameter that was probably where the body of the bird was attached. The legs hold/sit on a round circular body of a *nāga*, tail end of which can be seen hanging down on one side of the square base. The total height of the capital as it stands today is 57 cm. The top portion of the bird is missing.

My contention that the capital belongs to Heliodorus Pillar is based on the following three premises. One, stylistically it belongs to the same period as the Heliodorus Pillar. The *vedikā* motif is made of verticals representing the upright post or *stambhas* and horizontals representing *sūcikās*. The motif is a direct translation from timber railing of the past into stone. The Śunga period pillar at Sanchi has a similar square capital on the top.¹⁵ This pillar at Sanchi has a shaft that is octagonal at its base and is sixteen sided above. Marshall dates it to Śunga period and contemporary to Heliodorus Pillar on the basis of design and surface dressing.¹⁶

Two, the *nāga* under the claws of the bird clearly indicates the bird to be Garuḍa. There are number of references in Sanskrit texts to the association of Garuḍa with the *nāgas*. In iconography Garuḍas are shown with *nāgas* and are always paired together. The capital of *Garuḍa-dhvaja* of Eran depicted in anthropomorphic form: could be identified as Garuḍa on the basis of the *nāga* that he holds. Garuḍa continued to be represented in its bird form upto Gupta period. On the Sanchi stūpa 2 medallion there is carved a bird with a *nāga* coiled all around it. This could be an early form of this mythical bird shown in its bird form. Even in one of the pillars of Bharhut, now in Calcutta Museum, a female horse rider is shown carrying a staff with a bird capital.¹⁷ The bird is shown here with a human head with the body of bird with long tail and wings.

At Udayagiri, some 4 km to the west of Heliodorus Pillar there are twenty brahmanical caves excavated during Candragupta Vikramāditya's period (5th century CE). On this site are carved some large panels showing Viṣṇu in his various avatāras. The best known amongst them are the first which shows him in his Varāha avatāra and the second that shows him reclining on *nāga* Śeṣa. The second panel called the Anantaśayana panel is the only place where Garuḍa is carved on this site. This by itself is surprising as Udayagiri is a major Vaiṣṇava site and depicts Viṣṇu in his Varāha and Narasirṅha avatāra for the first time in iconography. What is however important is that till this time (401/402 CE) the Garuḍa is still depicted in its bird form.

During the Gupta period the bird was adopted as the state symbol but

is shown in its bird form perched on a post. Therefore, it can be argued that if one were to look for the body of the Garuḍa of the capital of Heliodorus Pillar one would have to search for a bird in its bird form rather than in an anthropomorphic form.

Three, that the capital comes from Besnagar and most probably from Heliodorus Pillar site. None of the scholars (Cunningham, Lake, Bhandarkar) working in Heliodorus Pillar site mentions it in his report. In the absence of any reference to the object it is difficult to identify the exact find spot of the object. The accession register at the Gurjarī Mahal Museum at Gwalior, however, notes having acquired it from the site museum Besnagar. From the stray references to the site museum Besnagar, it appears that the site museum was functional only till the time Bhandarkar did his excavations in this area. After V. D. Garde established Gurjarī Mahal Museum at Gwalior about the middle of 1920s, the objects were transferred to the new museum. The Garuḍa capital finds mention in S. K. Dikshit's '*A Guide to The Central Archaeological Museum, Gwalior*,' (Bhopal, 1962) for the first time. According to him it is evidently the *Garuḍa-dhvaja* of Viṣṇu.

It is surprising, therefore, that nobody reported this as the Capital of Heliodorus Pillar. Heliodorus Pillar has a 27.5 x 27.5 cm tenon on the top, which must surely have been provided there for the Capital. There was no way however, to verify the mortice hole (if there is one) under the capital because the object now is securely embedded to the floor with a concrete pedestal. Therefore, one has to contend with the stylistic similarity of the Capital with Heliodorus Pillar, their contemporaneous nature and the fact that the Capital belongs to Besnagar and came along with other objects from site museum Besnagar.

4. Other Pillars In the Region

As mentioned above this was not the only column and capital that once existed on this site but there were many others which were contemporaneous to the Heliodorus Pillar. At least four more capitals were discovered from the site.¹⁸ One of the most important and the most impressive inverted lotus capital bases was the one with *makara* and flower motif on its abacus. This is a large monolithic inverted lotus capital base with six different elements that form its body.¹⁹ Above the inverted lotus is the cable coil with bead and reel design at the top. The abacus consists of *makara* motifs and flowers in-between; this had a *vedikā* grid on top and is finished with *āmalaka* - like top. The tenon on top indicates that there was a capital that mounted it.

Cunningham found a *makara* capital near the Heliodorus Pillar and he draws a picture of this capital on top of the capital base mentioned above.²⁰

Most scholars accept the possibility although the mortice hole in the *makara* capital is much larger than the tenon on the capital base. Also found from the site were three fan-palm capital fragments.²¹ Only one of them is complete and is currently on site; it was collected from nearby by the ASI sometimes in the nineteen eighties. The other two fragments are probably broken parts of the same capital. The scales of the two differ considerably but the style and the stone are the same. They are crafted out of Udayagiri stone, same as the Garuḍa capital. As already mentioned, Khare found foundations of eight such pillars of which the Heliodorus Pillar was the northernmost one.

Other than these eight pillars there were a few more pillars in the Vidiśā region. The other pillar capital found from the vicinity by Cunningham was a *Kalpavṛkṣa* (wish-giving tree) or *Kalpadruma* currently in Kolkata Museum. The massive (1.7 m high) wish-giving tree has bags of money tied to some of the branches; next to the bags are conches and lotus flowers overflowing with coins. As remarked by Coomaraswamy these are all *nidhis* of Kubera Yakṣa.²² An equally massive Yakṣa (4.20 m high) was removed from the riverbed in 1952 from a place known as *Dānābābā ghāt*, very close to the find place of the *Kalpavṛkṣa*.²³ Locally known as *Dānābābā* this image is currently in Vidiśā Museum. This Yakṣa image holds a bag of money. The *Kalpavṛkṣa* capital was no doubt located in its precinct (*āyatana*). Also, located nearby were the three Yakṣiṇīs removed from the area. One found by Cunningham is currently in the Indian Museum, Kolkata, while the other brought out from the river after 1952 is in Vidiśā Museum. A bust of similar Yakṣiṇī is currently in Bhopal Museum.

There were pillars erected at the Buddhist sites of Sanchi eight km from the Heliodorus Pillar. The most prominent among them was the Mauryan Pillar of third century BCE that was mounted with lions and a wheel, located near the main stūpa.²⁴ Slightly later, probably in the late second or early first century BCE, a smaller pillar was erected beside stūpa 5.²⁵ Another pillar with inverted lotus capital topped with lions and elephants (now broken with only feet remaining) can still be seen atop the awkwardly rising Lohangi hill some 3 km from the Heliodorus Pillar. This massive capital must have been very prominent in ancient times although no clear cult identity of this pillar can be ascertained at this stage.

The lesser-known pillar capital mounted with a single lion from Udayagiri also formed part of the landscape where pillars were erected as symbols of deities or objects of worship.²⁶ The single lion capital from here is unparalleled and shows eight animals, winged and otherwise, on its abacus. The capital was mounted on a shaft that may have been octagonal and a fragment of this shaft can be seen in the passage at Udayagiri. The find spot of this capital was located by the author on the basis of an old photograph procured

from the archives of the ASI during the course of her doctoral research titled "Udayagiri : A Sacred Hill, its Art, Architecture and Landscape" for the degree of Ph. D. awarded by the De Montfort University, UK. The location of the pillar and the icons engraved on the abacus appear to be associated with Sun worship.²⁷ The later Gupta period caves and the temples at Udayagiri are hypothesized, in the thesis, to have had astronomical implications.

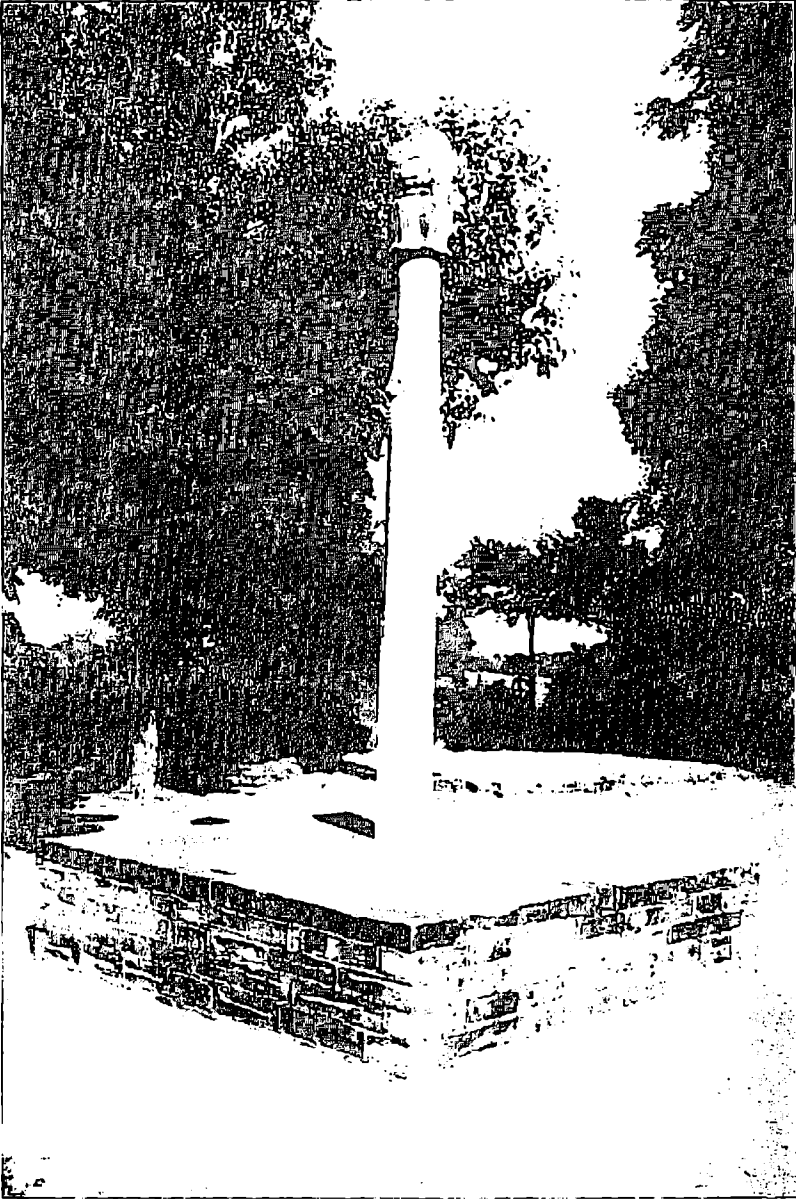
The foregoing discussion shows that a number of columns were raised at important cult spots around Vidiśā in ancient times. They represented worship of different religious beliefs and cults that were as diverse as Buddhism, Vāsudeva cult, Yakṣa cult and Sun worship from very early times. Pillars formed an important element of worship and may even have been worshipped independently. Although there are only few fragments of the shafts discovered from the area but the festoons carved on the Heliodorus Pillar may be a stone version of the actual garlands that once decorated these objects of worship.

5. Ritual Life of Heliodorus Pillar

The festoons on the Heliodorus Pillar may be symbolic of the pillar worship in historic times. Known as *Khamba Bābā* or Fakir Pillar during Cunningham's time the Heliodorus Pillar has been an object of worship since the time it is recorded by the historians. When Cunningham took notice of the pillar it was not in a deserted place but was the centre of rituals and worship. He recorded that the place was frequently visited by pilgrims and in the months of *Āśāḍha* and *Jyeṣṭha* there were ram sacrifices before it. The pillar was smeared with a thick coat of vermilion and that was the reason why he could not see the inscription on it.

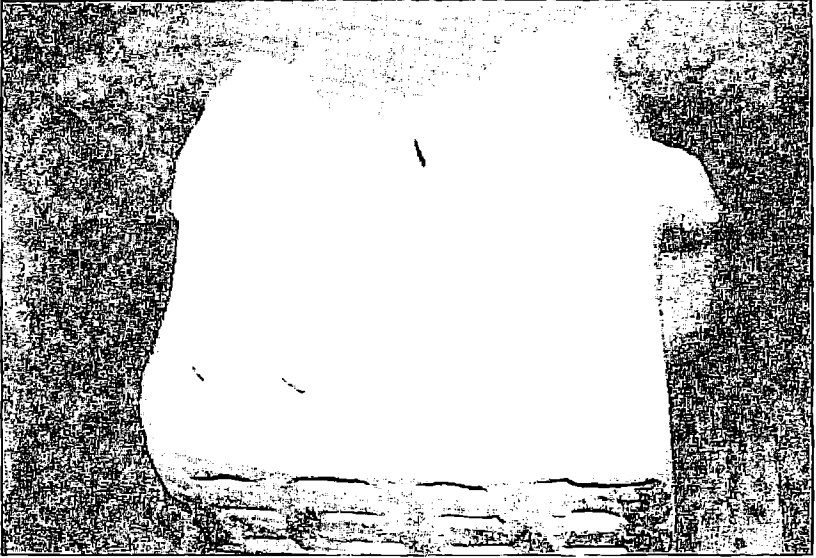
The column was called *Kham Bābā* when Bhandarkar went there in 1913. He found a *pujārī* of the Śaiva sect named Pratap-puri Gosai popularly known as Bābā Jī staying on the premises. He, reports Bhandarkar, was the third generation of the original Bābā with whom the worship of the pillar originated. The worship of the pillar started with Bābā Hirāpurī whose main job, as reported by Bhandarkar, was to prepare wine and offer it to the Kham Bābā. The pillar was a favourite divinity of the Bhois or Dhimmars (a fishermen community) and their contention, according to them, was supported by the presence of *makara* found from here. The worship was so popular, says Bhandarkar, that even people from higher castes came from as far as Candpura Bāri near Narmada, who had raised *cabutarās* in honour of this god at their villages.²⁸

The Pillar is still an object of reverence and is the centre of many rituals. People leave offerings at its base on a regular basis and special prayers are offered by people seeking a child. There is a tamarind tree some 20 m



The Hellodorus Pillar, Besnagar (Vidisha)

II



II A & B Two views of the Garuḍa Capital, now in the Gurjari Mahal Museum, Gwalior

to the east of the pillar which is part of the ritual scene of the place. On every new moon night, a ritual of exorcism takes place near the pillar. The exorcised spirits are then pinned on the tamarind tree along with the hair of the victim and a half cut lemon. Instruments of the rituals such as three chains with balls of nails are also hung on the tree. A *cabutarā* is built around the tree on which are also kept some objects from the excavation and a *satī* pillar. *Tāla-dhvaja* is also kept here. People possessed or in the grip of an evil spirit manifesting in ill health, seek cure here, and congregate here once a month.

6. Conclusion

The Garuḍa capital of Heliodorus Pillar is currently at Gwalior Museum and consists of feet of birds shown holding a *nāga*. The tail end of the *nāga* can be seen on one side of the *vedikā* below. The capital was probably found by Cunningham who did not know that Heliodorus Pillar was a *Garuḍa-dhvaja* and hence could not make the connection and therefore, did not mention the capital. The later explorers (Lake, Bhandarkar and Khare) knew of the *Garuḍa-dhvaja* but do not mention the capital in their reports. The capital however, arrived at the Gwalior Museum along with the rest of the objects from site museum Besnagar, where the objects found and excavated by Cunningham, Lake and Bhandarkar were earlier kept. All three of them were exploring near Heliodorus Pillar whereas Lake and Bhandarkar also excavated on this site. For the first time this paper brings out the nexus between the Heliodorus Pillar and the Garuḍa Capital and establishes that the two were part of the same *Garuḍa-dhvaja* of Vāsudeva at Besnagar. The top part of the capital is missing and it is my contention that if one were to search for the main body of the Garuḍa then one should search for a bird in the bird form and not in its anthropomorphic form.

Notes and References

1. The author would like to thank Dr. Michael Willis of the British Museum for his help, support and guidance.
2. Law B. C., *Historical Geography of Ancient India*, (Paris, 1954), pp. 336-340.
3. Law, *Ancient Geography*, p. 340.
4. *Skanda Purāna* (Vaṅgabāsī Ed., pp. 2767-68) referred in Law, *Ancient Geography*, p. 337.
5. Alexander Cunningham, *ASI Report, Tours in Bundelkhand and Mālwā in 1874-75 and 1876-77*. Vol. X, (London), p. 41.
6. Cunningham, *ASI Report*, p. 41.
7. Lake dug only two trenches here according to D. R. Bhandarkar, *ASI AR 1913-14*, p. 191.

8. Michael Willis, *Buddhist Reliquaries From Ancient India*, (London, 2000), p. 68 (6). The same source also mentions a letter by Cunningham in which he writes about the loss of all his relics in a fire.
9. J. F. Fleet, *CII*, 3. Richard Solomon, "Besnagar Pillar Inscription", *Indian Epigraphy*, 1998.
10. Solomon, *Ibid*.
11. D. R. Bhandarkar was the deputy Director General of the ASI.
12. M. D. Khare, *Vidiśā*, Bhopal (1985) and "Discovery of a Vishṇu Temple near The Heliodorus Pillar, Besnagar, District Vidisha (M.P.)", *Lalit Kalā*, 13, (1967, 21-7).
13. Khare, *Vidiśā*, pp. 89-93.
14. Lake, *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 23, (Bombay, 1910), pp. 130-44. Bhandarkar, *ASI AR 1913-14*, p. 190.
15. John Marshall, *The Monuments of Sanchi*, (first reprint, Delhi, 1982), Pl. 106b and numbered 25 on the plan Pl. 2.
16. Marshall, *Sanchi*, p. 49.
17. Ludwig Bachhofer, *Early Indian Sculpture*, (Calcutta, 1939), Plate 22 (right).
18. The Capitals discovered from here were one *Makara-dhvaja* and three *Tāla-dhvajas*.
19. Cunningham, *Tour Reports*, p. 47. Lake, *Besnagar*, p. Gurjarī Mahal Museum, Gwalior, Acc. No. 3.
20. Cunningham, *Tour Reports*, X. Pl. XIV. Gurjarī Mahal Museum, Gwalior, Acc. No. 5.
21. One is in Gurjarī Mahal Museum, Gwalior, the other is currently in Jabalpur archaeological museum (borrowed from Gwalior Museum), the third which was found by Dr. Dayalan is kept near Heliodorus Pillar.
22. Ananda Coomaraswamy, *Yakshas*, (Delhi-reprint 1980).
23. R. C. Agarwala, 'Unpublished Yakṣa-Yakṣī Statues from Besnagar', *Lalit Kalā*, 14.
24. The pillar capital is currently in Sanchi museum.
25. John Marshall, *Monuments of Sanchi*, Plate 106.
26. Willis, *Buddhist Reliquaries*, (2000, Fig. 29); Joanna Williams, "A Recut Aśokan Capital and the Gupta Attitude Towards The Past", *Artibus Asiae*, Vol. 35, (1973, pp. 225-40).
27. Much work has gone into the study of this pillar capital by the author and Dr. Michael Willis from the British Museum and a paper titled, The Lion Capital from Udayagiri and the Antiquity of Sun Worship in Central India, is forthcoming.
28. Bhandarkar, *ASI AR 1913-14*, p. 188.

Illustrations

Figure I Conjectural Reconstruction of the Heliodorus Pillar

Figure 2 Drawings of the Garuḍa Capital, Gurjarī Mahal Museum, Gwalior

I The Heliiodorus Pillar, Besnagar (Vidiśā)

II A & B Two views of the Garuḍa Capital, now in the Gurjarī Mahal Museum, Gwalior

Two Inscribed Kūrma Śatakas Attributed To

Paramāra King Bhojadeva

Devangana Desai

It is rare to find poems written on a tortoise. For the first time in India we come across two Prakrit Śatakas on Kūrma, the Tortoise who supports the Earth, inscribed on a stone slab at Dhar (Dhārā) in Madhya Pradesh. These poems are attributed to the illustrious Paramāra King Bhojadeva of Mālavadeśa (c. CE 1000-55). The two Śatakas, each actually having 109 stanzas, are composed in the Āryā metre. It was in 1903 that K. K. Lele, Superintendent of Education at Dhar, discovered the stone slab bearing the inscribed poems from among the ruins of a monument that was originally Bhoja-śālā, a school of learning, and brought it to the notice of Prof. E. Hultzsch, the government epigraphist.¹ Prof. R. Pischel, who has edited the inscription in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Volume VIII, tells us that it consists of 83 lines and is engraved with great care. The language of the poems is Māhārāṣṭrī Prakrit. The poems are for the first time translated into English by Dr. V. M. Kulkarni.*

These Śatakas, as Pischel says, are of doubtful poetical value, but historically important for two reasons. First, they are among the rare extant examples of inscribed poetry in India. The other known examples, also inscribed at Dhārā, are *Khaḍga Śataka*, *Koḍaṅḍakāvya*, attributed to Bhojadeva², and the play *Pārijātamañjarī* composed by a preceptor of the Paramāra King Arjunavarman in about CE 1213.³ Secondly, the Śatakas are significant from the viewpoint of *kūrma* symbolism. They represent the full-blown development of the idea – hitherto found only in stray, single verses – of the Tortoise (rather than the Boar or Serpent) as the support of the earth; and, analogically, of the king as the support of the earth over which he ruled. This concept must have fascinated and flattered Mahārājā Bhoja enough to have the two poems inscribed on stone.

The first Śataka (here called A) is entitled "*Avani-Kūrma Śataka*", and its authorship is attributed to Mahārājādhirāja Bhojadeva. It is, however, very

* The article is based on my Introduction of *Kūrmaśatakadvayam*, under publication by the L. D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad. The verses quoted are from Dr. V. M. Kulkarni's translation of the Kūrma Śatakas.

likely that the actual composition of the poems and of other works which appear as authored by him was the work of his court poets. The second Śataka (here called B) particularly in which King Bhoja himself is praised for ably supporting the earth, surpassing even the *kūrma* in this task, could not have been composed by him.

Bhojadeva was a man of extraordinary learning and possessed wide interests. He is credited with the authorship of a large number of works, about 40, on a variety of subjects like poetics, literature, grammar, architecture, philosophy, medicine and astronomy. In inscriptions he is praised as *kavirāja* and *vidyānidhi*.⁴ The two outstanding works on Alamkāra, the *Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharana* and the *Śrīngāra Prakāśa*, were composed under his inspiration. V. Raghavan says: "Bhoja's *Śrīngāra Prakāśa*, in thirty-six chapters, running to 1908 pages in foolscap size in manuscript, is one of the biggest works in Sanskrit Literature and the biggest in the whole field of Alamkāra Śāstra."⁵ Bhoja also has to his credit an encyclopedic Vastuśāstra entitled *Samarāṅgaṇa-sūtradhāra* that presents canons of religious and civil architecture in 83 chapters. Bhojadeva wrote a philosophical work, the *Tattva Prakāśa*, (Illumination of the categories), a text of 76 verses, which systematizes monistic Śaiva Siddhānta, and also another Śaiva work called *Siddhāntasaṅgraha*. He is also credited with an astronomical work, the *Rājamṛgāṅka*, written in c. CE 1042.

Bhoja shifted his capital from Ujjain to Dhārā, where he established a school known as the Bhoja-śālā or Sarasvatī-bhavana, on the walls of which he got inscribed several poems.⁶ The stone slab bearing the two *Kūrma Śatakas* was one of these. The Jaina writer Merutuṅga in his *Prabandhacintāmaṇī*⁷ (CE 1305) talks of 104 temples built by King Bhoja, but evidence for these is not yet available. However, it is known that Bhoja founded a town called Bhojpur (which is near Bhopal), built a huge temple there, and constructed a large tank by building dams on two rivers.⁸ The Kashmir historian Kalhaṇa praises King Bhoja of Malwa for his liberality and says that he was a friend of poets (*Rājatarāṅginī*, VII, 259). Merutuṅga says that the king gave every day an appropriate gift to learned authors. Interestingly, he also notes (p. 62) that Bhoja called representatives of all sects and asked them about the way to achieve salvation. And they all agreed: "Religion is characterized by harmlessness, and one must honour the goddess Sarasvatī. By meditation one obtains salvation."

Both the *Śatakas* begin with an invocation of Śiva. The first hails Śiva as Lord of Pārvatī, "by whose will and supreme, unequalled power, the world is supported." The second Śataka begins with a prayer to the Kaṅkāla-mūrti of Śiva.

"May god Śiva confer on you - extend to you all happiness (śivam)-

that god Śiva who easily (*helayā*) carries the skeleton (*kaṅkāla*) of that very Kṛṣṇa (*Kanha*) who carries the (three) worlds." B, verse 1.

Here Kṛṣṇa is synonymous with Viṣṇu. This form of Śiva is noticeable in the temples of south India, but is not prevalent in the north. The south Indian Śaivāgamas give detailed descriptions of the Kaṅkālamūrti of Śiva.⁹ Probably the poet who composed the invocatory verse for Bhoja hailed from south India. In this context we may mention that King Bhoja's kingdom extended up to the upper course of the River Godavari and he had formed an alliance with the Cola king of Tanjavur at the time of his invasion to the kingdom of the Cālukya king of Kalyāṇa and that of the Somavarmśī ruler of Mukhalingam in the Ganjam district.¹⁰ It is likely that he may have brought or invited poets from south India to his capital.

From the internal evidence of the Śatakas, it can be said that the poems do not seem to refer to the Tortoise incarnation of Viṣṇu, as Pischel believed, but to the universal aspect of the tortoise (*ādi-kūrma*) as support of the earth.¹¹ The Earth Goddess, Pṛthvī, sits on *ādi-kūrma*, as distinct from Kūrma as *avatāra*, in central Indian sculptures. It is important to remember that *kūrma* is a symbol of stability and is placed in the form of *kūrmasīlā* in the foundation of buildings.¹² It is also a mount of the river goddess Yamunā and the *lāñchana* (cognizance) of the Jina Suvrata, Jaina Yaksas Pārśva, (Dharaṇa) and Ajita, and Mahāvidyā Gāndhārī. These aspects of *kūrma* are independent of his incarnation as Viṣṇu. Nowhere in these two Śatakas do we come across any reference to the myth of Samudra-manthana or Churning of the Milky Ocean, in which Viṣṇu, as Kūrma, supports Mount Mandara (and not the earth) at the request of gods and demons. However, we may point out here that the medieval poets, for instance, Vākpatirāja in his work *Gauḍavaho* (see below) in the 8th century and Jayadeva in his well-known *Gītagovinda* (Aṣṭapadī, verse 2) in the 12th century, have referred to the *dharāṇi-dhara* aspect of Kūrma when invoking the Kūrma *avatāra* of Viṣṇu. These two roles of Kūrma, namely, 1) as *dharāṇi-dhara*, support of the earth, and 2) as support of Mount Mandara, which is specifically Kūrma's role as incarnation of Viṣṇu in the Purāṇas, get fused here.

But it is on the word of Śiva that the Chief of tortoises supports the earth (A, 3), not Mount Mandara in the *Avani-Kūrma Śataka*. This reference to Śiva asking the Chief Tortoise to carry the earth is not found in the Churning of the Ocean myth, in its versions in the *Mahābhārata*, the *Viṣṇu-Purāna*, the *Agni-Purāna*, and the *Bhāgavata-Purāna*. It is not insignificant that both the Śatakas invoke Śiva and not Viṣṇu. It is also worth mentioning that Bhoja's Vāstu text, the *Samarāṅgaṇa-sūtradhāra* (Chapter 77, verse 38ff) does not mention Matsya and Kūrma as *avatāras* of Viṣṇu, but begins its *avatāra* list with Varāha.

The goodness of Kūrma is emphasized in the *Avani-Kūrma Śataka*. The Kūrma is "solely devoted to doing good to others" (A, 11, 38, 63). This aspect is somewhat similar to references to the tortoise in the 'Śānti Parva' (247,4) of the *Mahābhārata*, the *Bhagavad Gītā* (II, 58) and the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* (36, 33ff), in which it is a symbol of the self-controlled man, who has control over his *indriyas* (senses). The Kūrma of the Śataka (A, 22) withdraws its limbs within its shell. He is an instance of those who are steady and firm. The tortoise alone strives without any motive.

"The tortoise is an instance (nidarśana) of those who are steady and of firm resolve. Look ! In a tortoise we find that both the qualities are ever present." A, verse 24.

"Look at a muni (sage) and a kacchapa (tortoise), and see their determination." A, verse 30.

"Here (in this world), everyone strives to secure one's own happiness. You alone, O tortoise, strive without any such motive (or purpose). Even thinking (for a long time), O tortoise, we do not know (we can not fathom) what your motive could be." A, verse 34.

The poems reveal several points of mythological significance. The second verse of the Śataka-A refers to *kūrma* as the golden mountain Meru, the world mountain in the centre of the Universe, a cosmic symbolism (Gonda, p. 128), and also as the "bulbous root of the creeper of the old." This reminds us of the depiction of the tortoise supporting the creeper of life at Sanchi in central India in the 2nd century BCE. The reference to Dhruva, the Pole Star (A, 29, 70, 96, 97), further establishes the cosmic symbolism of the Kūrma, who supports the Universe. The Pole Star above the earth and Kūrma below the earth - all in a single line - indicate the axis. It is the Cosmic Axis, which joins the earth and the heavens.

In several stanzas (A, 65, 69, 93, 94) the feat of the Kūrma in supporting the earth is ranked superior to those of 1) Varāha, Kiri, (Boar, the third incarnation of Viṣṇu), 2) Śeṣa, the thousand-headed cosmic Serpent, a theriomorphic form of Viṣṇu, and 3) the *dig-gajas*, eight Elephants of the Quarters. It is said that all these divine animals display their prowess and show off while supporting the earth, whereas the Kūrma quietly lies below the earth and hence is not even visible.

"You support, O tortoise, the earth. You save the three worlds and manifest your power in that manner ! Who does not ridicule the Boar (Kiri) and others who support the earth in order that their deeds may be noticed ?" A, verse 68.

We may note that in the 11th century images of Khajuraho and other

sites in central India, the tortoise even supports Varāha, who holds the Earth Goddess (Pṛthvī) on his tusk. The *Matsya Purāṇa* (Chapter 260), assigned between 5th - 10th centuries, and the Vāstu text *Aparājītapṛcchā* (Chapter 29, verse 22), datable to late 12th or early 13th century, mention that the *kūrma* supports the right foot of Varāha. While the Śatakas do not refer to this symbolism, they implicitly recognize the greatness of *kūrma* as support of the earth.

In the first Śataka, the Kūrma is praised as 'the one and only one who bears the burden (of the earth)' (A, 106).

"You alone, O tortoise, are really born ! What is the use of others who are (merely) born here on earth to no purpose, in vain ? For it is you who saved the earth that was sinking down in the nether world (pātāla) by supporting it on your back !" A, verse 62.

The mother of the Kūrma is also praised in many stanzas for giving birth to the one who bears the burden of the earth without a grumble.

"That female tortoise alone among females is indeed blessed, who gave birth to a male offspring that bore the (entire) burden of the earth, extremely difficult to bear." A, verse 6.

"Blessed are you, O female tortoise, among females on this earth, who gave birth to the offspring who does not find rest (even for a second) since its birth." A, verse 12.

But this picture changes in the second Śataka, which eulogizes King Bhoja, while minimizing the importance of Kūrma in upholding the earth. For, to the *paśus* (creatures), namely, Tortoise, Serpent, Boar, and the like, the earth appears to be a heavy burden, but King Bhoja smilingly lifts her in his hand, as to him she is light, not heavy (B, 14, 16, 31). He treats her like a plaything. The references to the King mastering the qualities of *laghutva* and *gurutva* (B, 83, etc.), and his acquiring the powers of *animā* and *garimā* (B, 105) point to his attaining of yogic siddhis. We must remember that Bhoja was a Śaiva siddhāntin with the works *Tattva-Prakāśa* and *Siddhāntasaṅgraha* to his credit.

The concept of royalty or regal power was linked in medieval Indian religious and court literature with the Boar, the Varāha avatāra of Viṣṇu, who rescues the Earth Goddess from the nether region. From the Gupta period (4th-5th century) onwards, the Boar became a political metaphor,¹³ and the king was compared to the Boar, the celestial consort of the Earth Goddess, thereby suggesting that the king was her terrestrial husband (Kṣīti-Pati). Now, for the first time an entire poem, the *Avani-Kūrma Śataka*, has been written on the Kūrma and its silently bearing the burden of the earth. Some single

verses on the tortoise bearing the burden of the earth do exist, but no full-length poems such as the one inscribed at Dhārā. For instance, the 8th century Prakrit work, the *Gauḍavaho*, has a *gāthā* on Kūrma, which forms a part of the *maṅgalācarana* (benediction). It reads:

“Victorious is the Great Tortoise lifting the (sunken) earth with its body, as with a hand, with its (outstretched) five fingers, since under the pressure (burden) of the earth, its mouth-tip and four feet happened to be pushed out.”¹⁴

In the 11th century, however, the scholar-king Bhoja elevates the position of the Tortoise, which excels the Boar and others in the *Avani-Kūrma Śataka*; and then the second Śataka shows that he (the King himself) even surpasses the feat of the Great tortoise in lifting the earth. We pay our homage to the Kūrma and the creative King Bhojadeva, who got inscribed the poems on the tortoise, which have lasted the ravages of time.

Notes and References

1. *Epigraphia Indica*, Volume, VIII, (1905-06), pp. 96, 241-260.
2. H. V. Trivedi, *Inscriptions of the Paramāras, Chandellas, Kachchhapaghātas and Two Minor Dynasties, Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. VII, Part-I, p. 187; Also *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report*, 1934-35, p. 60.
3. *Epigraphia Indica*, VIII, pp. 96ff.
4. H. V. Trivedi in *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. VII, Part-I, p. 187.
5. V. Raghavan, *Bhoja's Śrīngāra Prakāśa*, Volume I, Part I, Bombay, 1940, Preface.
6. V. S. Agrawala, Introduction to *Samarāṅgaṇa-Sūtradhāra*, Oriental Institute, Baroda, 1966, p. xii. Also H. V. Trivedi, *op.cit.*, p. 192.
7. Eng. Tr. by C. H. Tawney, Calcutta, 1901, p. 73.
8. K. Mankodi, “Scholar-Emperor and a Funerary Temple”, in *Royal Patrons and Great Temple Art*, Ed. Vidya Dehejia, Marg Publications, Bombay, 1988, pp. 101ff.
9. T. A. G. Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, II, I, 1916, p. 307. Rao quotes the *Suprabhedāgama*, which mentions that the *kaṅkāla* held by Śiva is that of Viṣṇu, and thereby he says that the Purāṇic story of the murder by Śiva of Viśvakṣeṇa (doorkeeper of Viṣṇu) is accepted and followed. Also *Śiva-Kośha*, S. K. Ramachandra Rao, Bangalore, 1998, Vol. 2, pp. 288-89, and the *Kūrma Purāṇa*, II, 31, gives this story. Dr. R. Nagaswamy, Former Director, State Archaeology, Tamil Nadu, writes in a reply to my query on Kṛṣṇa's *kaṅkāla* carried by Śiva: “There is no work in Āgama or Śilpa or Tamil works that refers to Śiva carrying the skeleton of Kṛṣṇa. I have not been able to get any reference so far. But what is of interest is that the colour of the *kaṅkāla* (skeleton) is mentioned as *kṛṣṇa-varṇa* in two texts. Obviously the colour of the skeleton was to be painted black in colour. So could it be that the verse of Bhoja you cite mentions the colour as Kṛṣṇa.”

10. H. V. Trivedi in *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. VII, Part-I, p. 21; Pratipal Bhatia, *The Paramāras*, New Delhi, 1970, p. 78; *The Struggle for Empire*, HCIP, second edition, Bombay, 1966, p. 66.
11. J. Gonda, *Aspects of Early Viṣṇuism*, Leiden 1954, pp. 126-29; N. P. Joshi, *Brahmanical Sculptures in the State Museum, Lucknow*, Part 2 - Volume I, Lucknow, 1989, p. 138. Joshi uses the word *ādi-kūrma* for cosmic tortoise.
12. Stella Kramrisch, *The Hindu Temple*, Vol. I, 1946, pp. 110-111.
13. Devangana Desai, *The Religious Imagery of Khajuraho*, Mumbai, 1996, pp. 64-65.
14. Translation by N. G. Suru, who has edited Vākpatirāja's *Gaūḍavaḥo*, 1975, p. 2. I thank Dr. Kulkarni for drawing my attention to this *gāthā* by Vākpatirāja. The Prakrit *gāthā* is as under:

जअइ धरमुध्धरंतो भरणीसारिअ-मुहग-चलणेन ।
 णिअ-देहेण करेण व पंचंगुलिणा महा-कुम्मो ॥
 (जयति धरामुध्धरन् भरणि सारित मुखाग्रचरणेन ।
 निजदेहेन करेणैव पञ्चाङ्गुलिना महाकूर्मः ॥)
 गाथा क्रमाङ्क १७

The Royal Donor and Adorer Figures in Jāvā

Plāōsān's Twin Temples, Jāvā

M. A. Dhaky

Among the many, many islands forming the Republic of Indonesia, Jāvā - ancient Yavadvīpa - has the highest eminence on several counts.¹ Brahmanism as well as Buddhism prevailed there in the urban / metropolitan centres, at least from the fifth century CE, the material evidence of the arts created by, and affiliated to both these religions is available from about the late seventh century onwards. Historically speaking, the Brahmanical Sañjaya dynasty of Matarām was ruling the upper central Jāvā in the eighth century; and the Buddhist Śailendra dynasty of Sumātrā controlled the lower central parts of Jāvā from c. CE 800 to c. 925 when the last Śailendra king gave his daughter in marriage to the prince of the Sañjaya dynasty.

The Buddhist foundations in Jāvā - which include the world famous Stūpa of Borobudur / Barabudūr² - on the whole were more numerous, some of them like Caṇḍi Plāōsān and Caṇḍi Sevu are, like the grand Borobudur monument, notable also for the scale of their building complexes.³

In lower central Jāvā, to the southeast of Djoṅgākārtā, lies the Caṇḍi Plāōsān ensemble and slightly to the southwest of Plāōsān stands the Caṇḍi Sevu group. The Caṇḍi Plāōsān temple complex has a long rectangular court with two main shrines, placed at some distance from each other along the same alignment. Each of the two shrines is three-chambered, structurally almost identical, rectangular edifice,⁴ as also the three rectangularly disposed surrounds of *devakulikās* / minor shrines together with minor *stūpas* arrayed along its vast *jagaṭī*-borders. All of these latter constructions are now largely ruined.⁵

The twin main temples of Plāōsān group, besides a few Buddhist divinity cult images inside the sanctuary parts located at the other end of the chambers,⁶ also show on the interior walls what seem, in most cases, to be the figures of the *kārāpakas* or founders / donors and, to all seeming, of the *ārādhakas* or adorers all apparently of the royal household.⁷ The present brief article intends to focus on both these types of figures. The figures (Plates III - X) are carved *in situ* on the walls, that was after the dressed stones of their ashlar masonry were set in place.⁸ Each such figure is carved out in a manner to make it look as though sheltered in a shallow niche. On these figures, Bernet Kampers succinctly remarked: "The side rooms of the large temples

at Plāōsān have their walls decorated with panels portraying royal donors, priests or pilgrims."⁹ Kampers illustrates and describes one of these panels.¹⁰ In my discussion for this article I, too, have selected that instance (here Plate VI), but also bring eight more which previously may not have been discussed or noticed by writers on Plāōsān or Javanese sculptural art in general.

Illustrations III and IV show two carved and identical looking standing male figures. Each one of these also has a set of three smaller figures disposed in the order of superposition at each of its two flanks. Both of the main figures are partially damaged. The lower part of the head of the one (Plate III) and the part above the lower half of the forehead of the second figure are completely mutilated. On combining the surviving facial features of both these very similar looking figures, the original details of the visage as also of the ornaments they wear can be restored. Both figures had worn a jewelled and beaded golden *paṭṭabandha*-band just above the forehead, the band surviving in one figure has a central larger brooch or *padaka*-front and two lateral and smaller *padakas* introduced at intervals. Heavy *kuṇḍalas* hang at the lower end of the elongated ear-lobes. The figures also wear a *hāra*/necklace, a transversely placed jewelled *upavīta* or sacred thread, the *keyūra*-armlet of each arm, seemingly made of gold with inset gems, that clasps the biceps and, the *kaṭisūtra* (here in the form of a triple waist band) covering the upper part of the *veṣṭi*-like *dhotī* (partially damaged in one figure). The right arm is stretched downwards in *varada-mudrā* or boon-giving gesture, the left one is shown as 'arm-akimbo.' There is seen a *pātra* or a vessel placed near the left foot. The lower ends of the two flanks show single seated figure set in a box, the right one holding some book-like object, the left one sits with a little forward bend and with crossed arms. Above it the central standing figure at the right flank holds what looks like an *alocasia* leaf (an object signifying a sort of banner, a fan, or may be it had some other, secular purpose or sacred objective), the figure on the opposite side holds a parasol over the head of the central principal figure. The third or top section shows flying *gandharvas* or heavenly minstrel figures holding in one case a harp (*pañcatantrī-vīṇā*?) and in the other playing cymbals. The principal standing figure, in both instances and to all seeming, as indicated by the personalized and similar looking facial features, apparently signifies a portrait of one and the same royalty, very plausibly the king who founded this temple-complex.

The Northern main shrine likewise contains on its inner walls two identical portrait figures, in this instance of a queen (Plates V A & B). The queen's portraits, too, have right arms showing boon-giving gesture, the left arm in akimbo. The three lateral superimposed figures likewise are shown engaged in some acts (not very clear) but they all are females. As in the case of the king's two figures, so in these instances, are discernible the life-like physiognomic features which plausibly hint at their being the portraits of the

founder-king's consort. Now, does the presence of the celestial minstrels above, the boon-giving gesture of the principal figures, and the presence of an offering vessel placed near the left foot in all the four cases signify that these were intended to be the deified and posthumous portraits of the founder king and his consort?

Plate VI illustrates a pair of figures, slightly turning toward left and each of which with two hands joined in supplication, a gesture suggestive of their being the *ārādhaka* or adorer figures. Each is flanked by a parasol-holding figure symptomatic of their regal status. Who are they? Is the one (Plate VI) on the left the king himself (since he physiognomically and otherwise resembles the portraits in plates III and IV), with the companion figure representing a crown prince?

Plate VII likewise illustrates two high dignitaries, both slightly turning to the right. The left figure wearing an archaic looking *kirīṭa*-crown, seems a monarch and the companion figure, without ornaments and perhaps wearing a robe and having the left arm damaged, plausibly a Buddhist pontiff.

Writes Kampers on this tableaux: "The headdress of one of the personages is very unusual in Indonesia. It reminds us especially of Viṣṇu images of Indo-China.... though here the type is somewhat different. This one, however, may be the headdress of a priest or a pilgrim."¹¹ Kampers is, of course, referring to the helmet-like crown worn by the figure on the left. It is akin more to the headdress of the reclining Viṣṇu depicted in the Mahiṣamaṇḍapa cave in Mahābalipuram (c. mid 7th cent.) in Tamilnadu.¹² A remoter parallel may be sensed in one of the royal crown types in Pharonic Egypt.¹³ In Plāōsān context, too, it decidedly is a royal personage, not a priest or a pilgrim, for the latter will not be accompanied by a *rājachatra*, royal umbrella, held in each case by an *anucara*, an attendant. Now, could, by any chance, the monarchial looking figure be a portrait of a Śailendra emperor?

In plate VIII we once more meet the royal figures as in plates III and IV but in this instance both are seated: each moreover is shown with a gesture signifying a devotee. Royal umbrella canopies each figure's head which is graced by a jewelled band. A flowering tree is shown to the right and left of the two figures, and one also stands between the two. The figure to the left seems the king, the one to the right may be a prince. Both of them show a tranquil and contemplative visage.

Even more serene princely figure is shown in plate IX which illustrates a single seated figure, possibly an adorer having the chest, the upper part of the belly, and the hands mutilated. The very placid looking head of the figure wears a *paṭṭabandha* and may represent a prince (or a princess?). It is shown seated on a low plain platform flanked on either side by a blossoming

tree. One of the two attendant figures is a parasol-holder (right), the other, sitting on the side of the tree, carries an unidentifiable object.¹⁴

The last plate, numbered X shows a royal lady; in this instance, the figure is shown standing with hands in supplication. She wears a tiara of a late type showing three large juxtaposed brooches. At her left foot sits a *paricārikā* or female attendant. Just behind her stands a female parasol-holder. To her right stands a lady-in-waiting holding a lotus-like object. In the background at the upper end, rather indistinctly, is shown, on either side, a vegetal motif of some kind.

These figures, so far known, are unparalleled in the Javanese context¹⁴ and hence assume importance.

Notes and References

1. Besides the present capital-city Jakartā and the two cultural cities - Djŋggākartā and Surkartā - most of the important ancient and medieval monuments, largely built in stone, together with divinity and other associated stone and metal sculptures, just as other art forms are also met in greater intensity/frequency in Jāvā than in other islands, including even the largest one, namely Sumātrā, which was the nuclear region of the Śailendra empire.
2. The Borobudur monument originally was not a *stūpa* but a *caturmukha*/fourfaced Buddhist temple (plausibly housing Buddha, Avalokiteśvara/Lokeśvara, Tārā, and either Vajrapāṇi or Prajñāpāramitā in its cardinally disposed four sancta), instead of the presently seen three uppermost circular stages bearing rows of smaller *stūpas* concentrically disposed around a central very large *stūpa*. This whole *maṇḍala*-like three-staged formation is superimposed above the four successively placed and progressively diminishing square *jagālis*/platforms which, on all of their four sides, show carved figures and narratives in panels on their profiles. (For this new information, see Jacques Dumarçay, *Borobudur*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, New York, and Melbourne 1978). These circular *stūpa*-bearing stages replaced the original four-faced shrine building possibly a generation later after the building completed when, arguably, there had been a change in the sectarian allegiance of the then reigning Śailendra dynast as guessed by some writers of our time.
3. The surviving Brahmanical shrines are all humbly dimensioned as is visibly noticeable at Dieng Plateau, next at Gedong Sāṅga on Mt. Uṅgaran, then Ngawén, Pringapus, and a few other sites, the exception, as regards size and scale, being the great Tripuruṣa-prāsāda complex of Caṇḍi Lara Djoṅgarāṅ (c. CE 954 or earlier) with its three grand juxtaposed shrines for the trinity - Brahmā, Śiva, and Viṣṇu - above its vast *jagālis* that had surrounds of minor chapels. The central fourfold shrine for Śiva, larger than the two adjoining or companion temples, enshrines in its four cardinally disposed sancta the images of Śiva, Brahmā, Durgā, and Gaṇapati. All the three major shrines have subsidiary confronting shrines, the central for the *vṛṣa*, and the two neighbourly are said to be for two forms of Śiva.

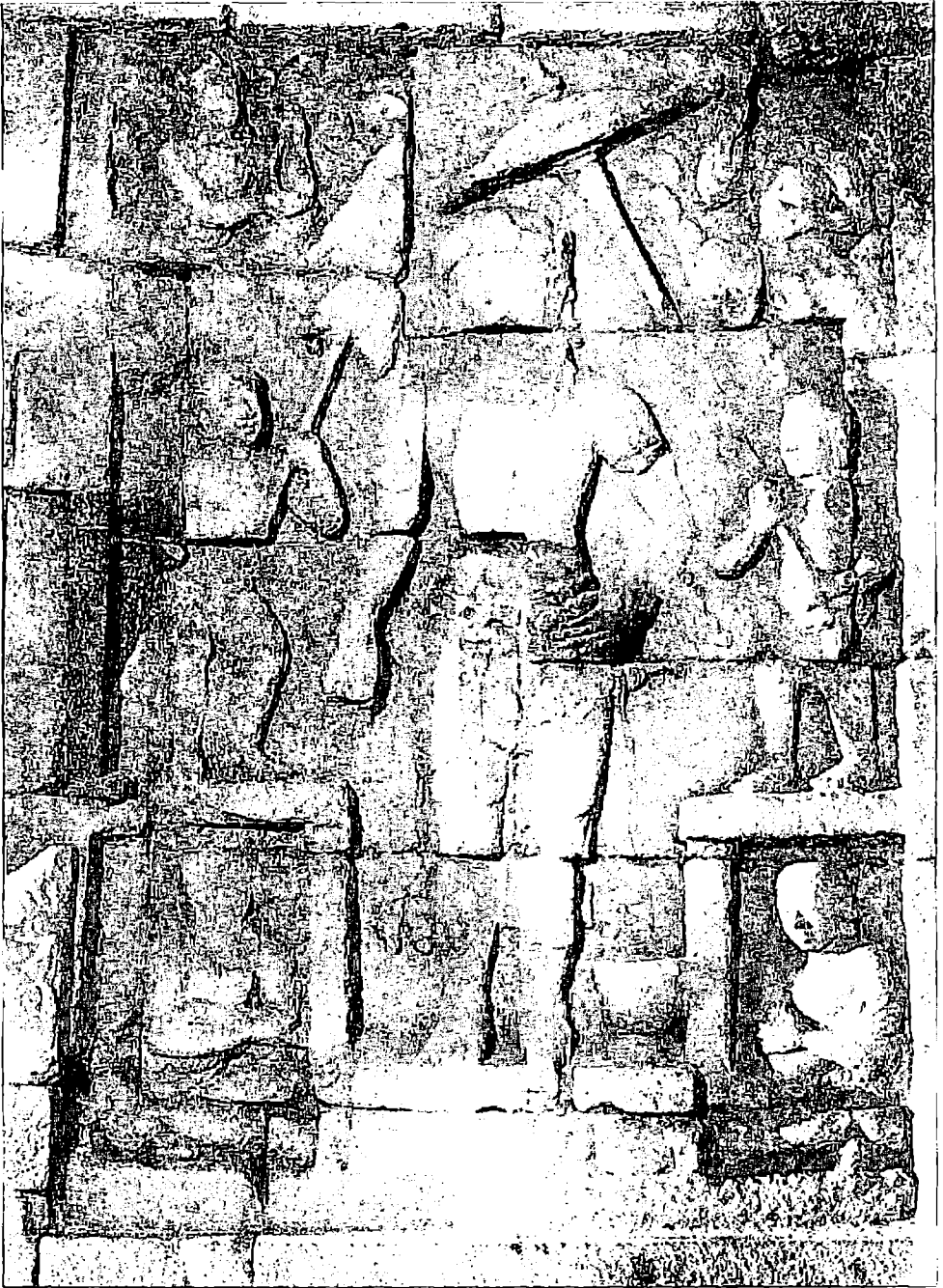
4. These two shrines, in general appearance, for some details and, for their floor plan, resemble the larger predecessor, the remarkable Caṇḍi Sāri temple.
5. Cf. his *Ancient Indonesian Art*, Cambridge, Massachusetts (U.S.A.), 1959, p. 56.
6. These figures are set up on the pedestals but no separate *garbhagr̥has* are built for them.
7. With one exception of an ecclesiastical figure, as I seem to recall, the Sāri temple's interior walls show no donor or adorer figures. In the Plāōsān temples, the central chamber walls do not have such figures.
8. This is the method for sculpting adopted for decoration of the exterior parts as well. The Cambodian temples also follow the same method for carving. In India, a few temples with Kāñcī in Tamilnadu of post-Rājasimha period, that is after CE 725, partially follow the same method of sculpting after the masonry is set in place.
9. Kampers, *Ancient Indonesian Art*, plate 136.
10. Kampers, p. 57; Cf. the description there of his plate 136.
11. In the numerous tableaux carved on the profiles of the upper three *jagatīs* of the Stūpa at Borobudur, and, particularly in the processional retinues there, are included the figures holding such sagittal leaves rendered with considerable clarity and accuracy.
12. Cf. Heinrich Zimmer, *The Art of Indian Asia*, Vol. Two: plates, Bollingen Series, XXXIX, sec. ed., reprint, New York 1964, plate 286.

This famous image is of course illustrated in several different publications dealing with ancient Indian art.
13. For example of Ramesis II (early BCE 13th century) and some other pharaohs.
14. In India, in the western zone, that is in Gujarat and Rajasthan in the medieval period, instances of more than one type of *ārādhaka* images are encountered, some holding a *mālā* or garland in hands. Such figures can be of the royalties, high officials like *daṇḍanāyakas* or military governors, *mantris* or counsellors / ministers, or of the *śreṣṭhis*, merchants. Usually, royal personages are shown with the parasol above their head.

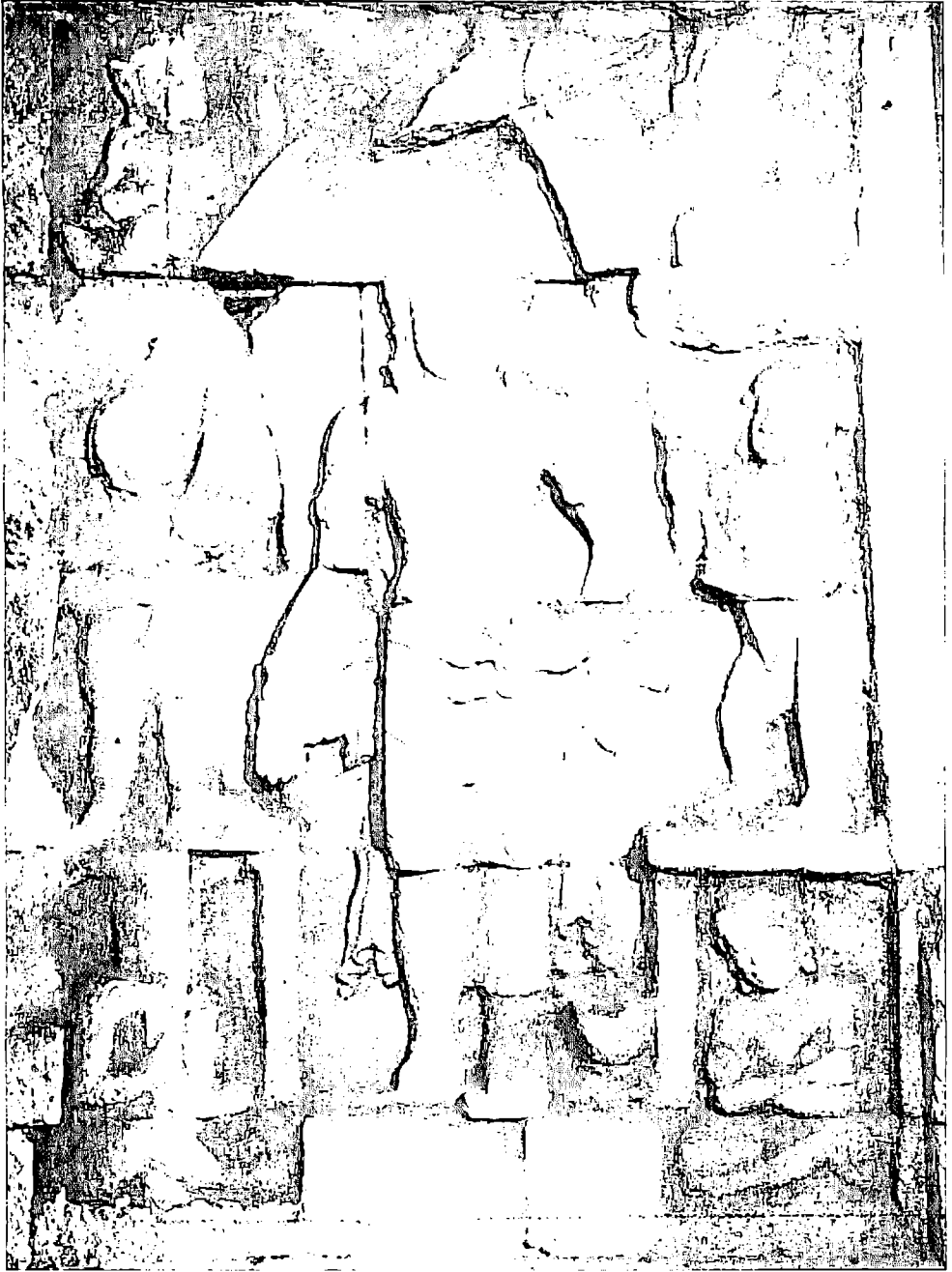
Illustrations

- III. Portrait of a king. Caṇḍi Plāōsān, Southern main shrine, north chamber, north wall, east end panel, Jāvā (Indonesia), c. mid ninth century.
- IV. Portrait of a king. Caṇḍi Plāōsān, Southern main shrine, south chamber, south wall, east end panel.
- VA. Portrait of a queen. Caṇḍi Plāōsān, Northern main shrine, south chamber, south wall panel.
- VB. Portrait of a queen. Caṇḍi Plāōsān, Northern main shrine, north wall panel.

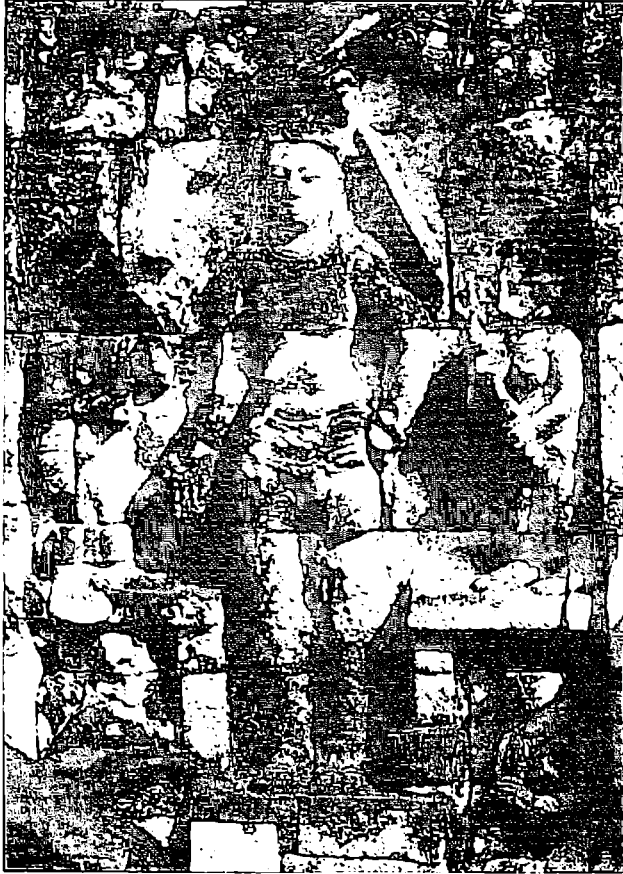
- VI. Portraits of two royal persons as standing *ārādhakas*. Caṅḍi Plāösān, Southern main shrine, south chamber, north wall, east end panel.
- VII. Portrait of two royal persons as standing *ārādhakas*. Caṅḍi Plāösān, Southern main shrine, north chamber, south wall, east end panel.
- VIII. Portrait of two princes as seated *ārādhakas*, Southern main shrine, north chamber, south wall, west end panel.
- IX. Portrait of a prince (or a princess?) as seated *ārādhaka*, Southern main shrine, north chamber, west end panel.
- X. Portrait of a queen or a princess as an *ārādhikā*. Caṅḍi Plāösān, Northern main shrine, north chamber, south wall panel.



Portrait of a king. Candi Plaosan, Southern main shrine, north chamber, north wall, east end panel, Jávā (Indonesia), c. mid ninth century.



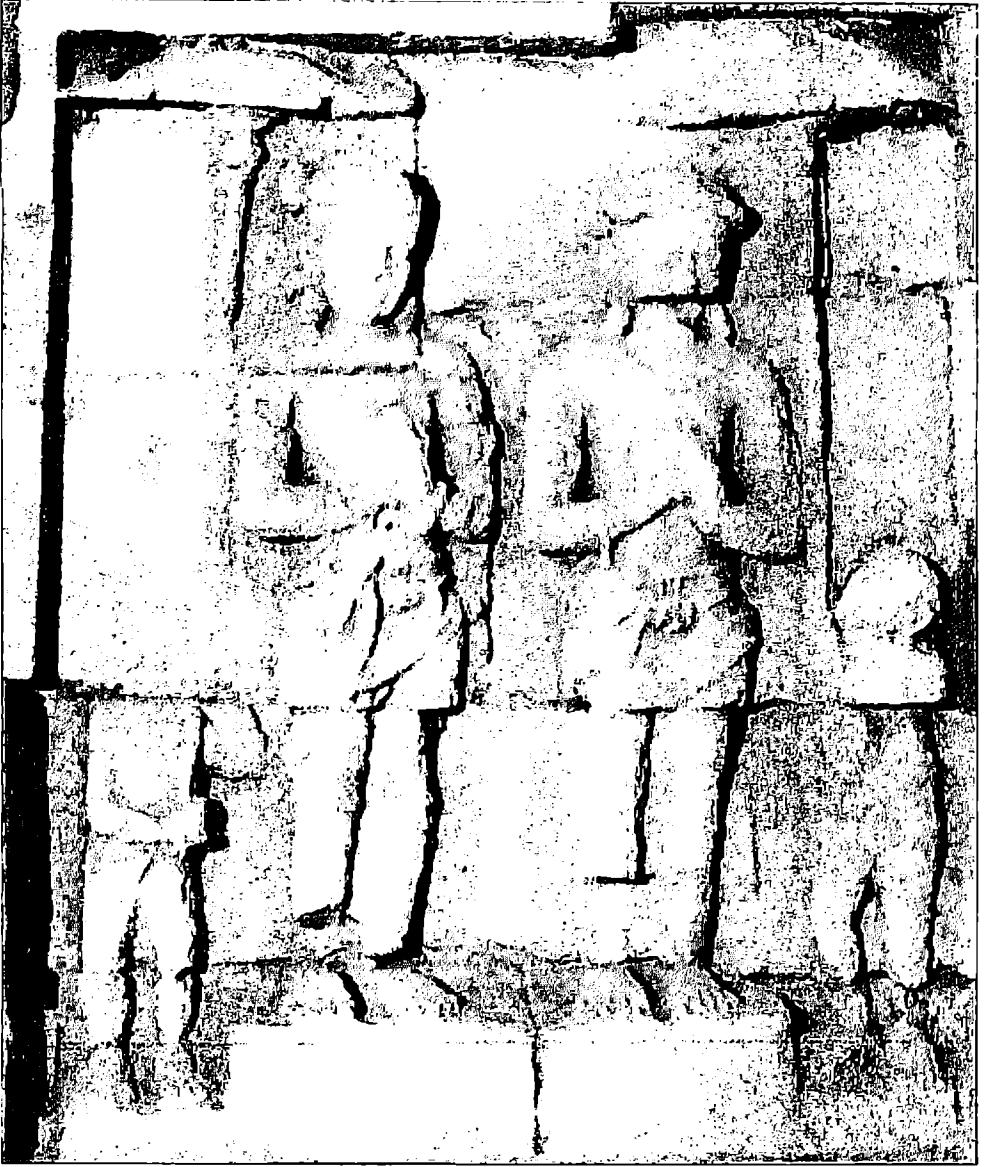
Portrait of a king. Caṅḍi Plāösān, Southern main shrine, south chamber, south wall, east end panel.



Portrait of a queen. Caṅḍi Plāōsān, Northern main shrine, south chamber, south wall panel.



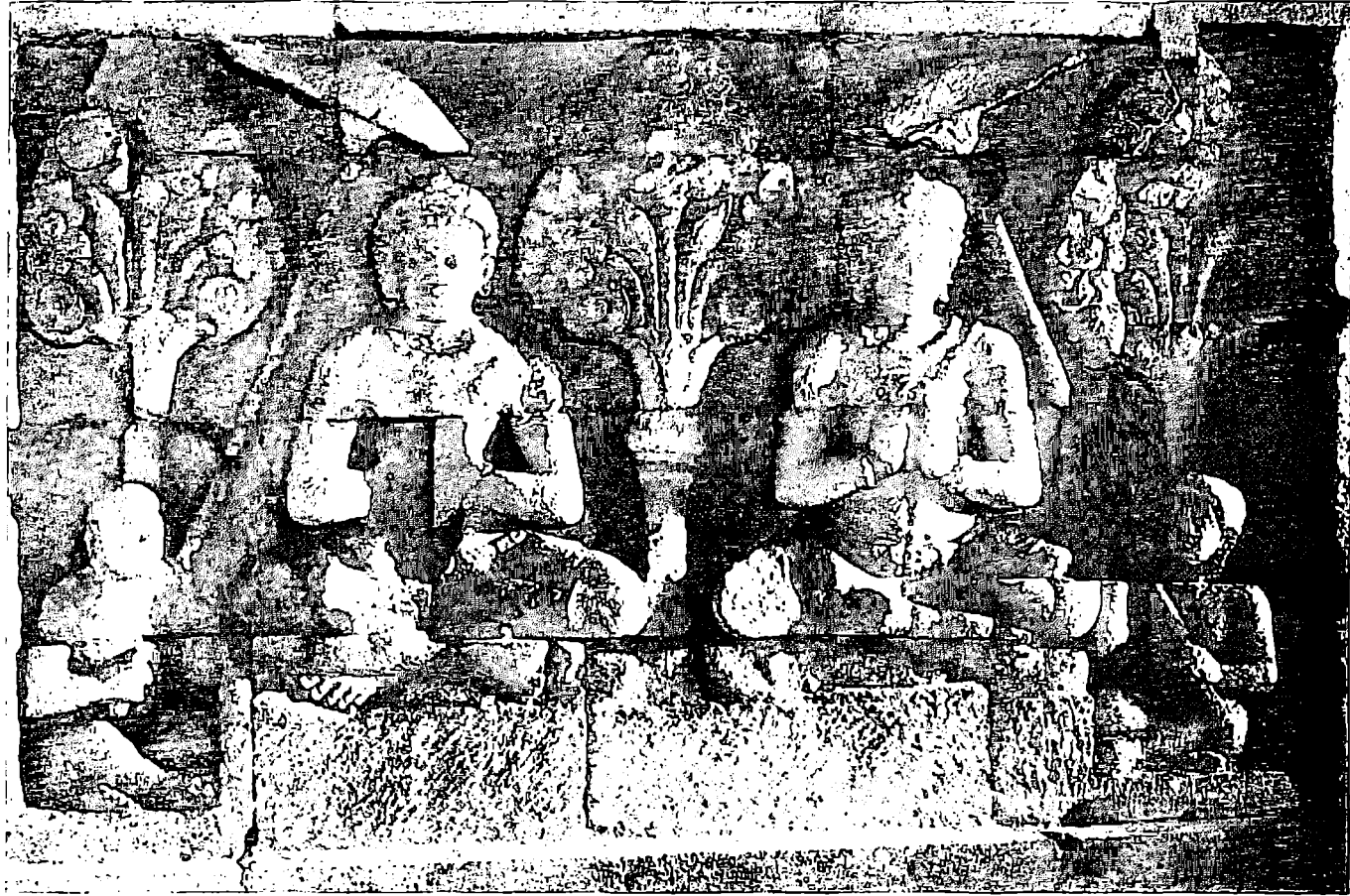
Portrait of a queen. Caṅḍi Plāōsān, Northern main shrine, north wall panel.



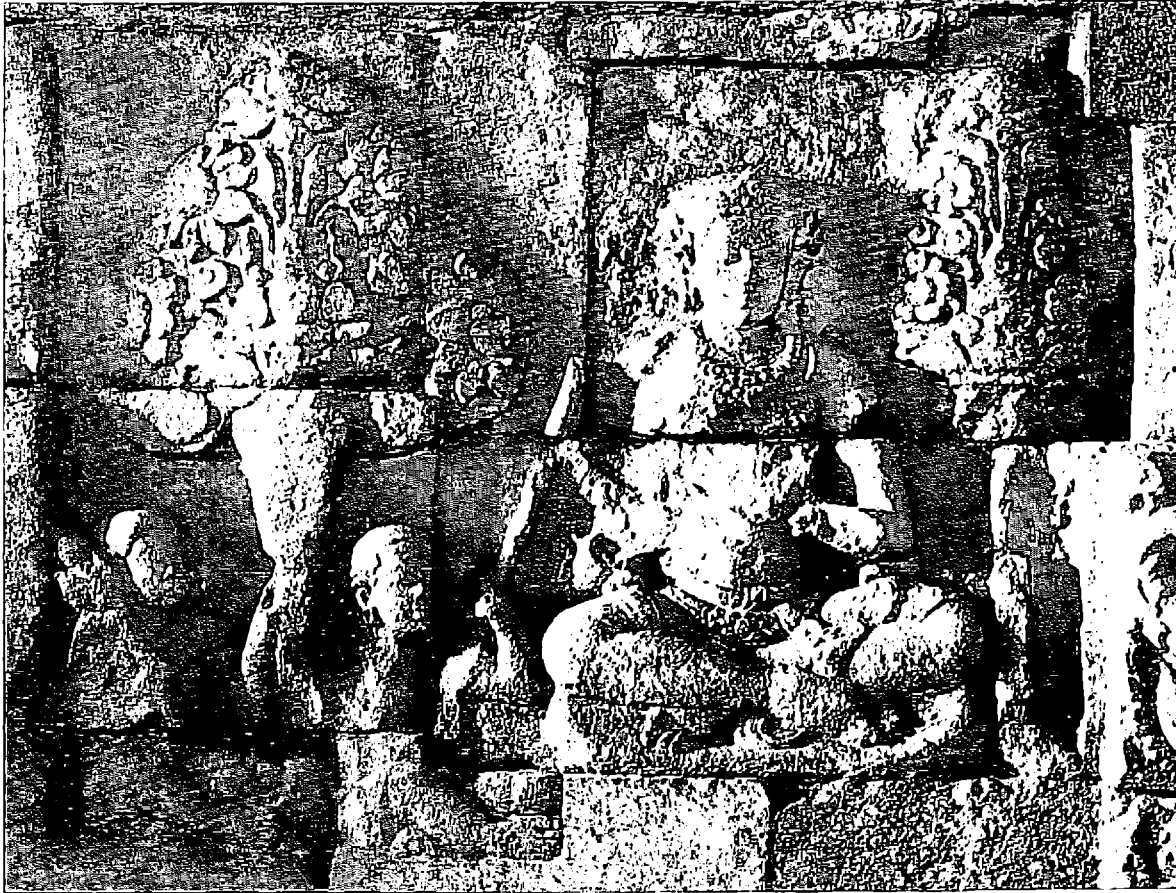
Portraits of two royal persons as standing *ārādhakas*. Caṅḍi Plāṅśān,
Southern main shrine, south chamber, north wall, east end panel.



Portraits of two royal persons as standing *arādhakas*. Caṅḍi Plāṅsān,
Southern main shrine, north chamber, south wall, east end panel.



Portrait of two princes as seated *ārādhakas*, Southern main shrine,
north chamber, south wall, west end panel.



Portrait of a prince (or a princess?) as seated *ārādhaka*,
Southern main shrine, north chamber, west end panel.



Portrait of a queen or a princess as an * r dhik *. Caᅇi Pl os n,
Northern main shrine, north chamber, south wall panel.

A Fresh Treatment of Dhvanikārikā 1.5

Rewaprasada Dwivedi

'The meaning which is appreciated by sahrdayas is called *kāvya*.¹ But it is to be noted that this meaning is twofold in its nature - (i) expressed, and (ii) reflected in mind. Ānandavardhana (Ānanda), 850 AD says -

अर्थः सहृदयश्लाघ्यः काव्यात्मेति² व्यवस्थितः।

वाच्यप्रतीयमानाख्यौ तस्य भेदावुभौ स्मृतौ॥

Kārikā 1.2 *Dhvanyāloka* (*Dhv.*)

Of these the first, he maintains, is known to all because that is defined and illustrated in the form of *Upamā*, etc. by the earlier aestheticians (Daṇḍī, Bhāmaha, Vāmana and Udbhata). Hence it is not discussed - treated at length here.

तत्र वाच्यः प्रसिद्धो यः प्रकारैरुपमादिभिः।

बहुधा व्याकृतः सोऽन्यैस्ततो नेह प्रतन्यते॥

(सोऽन्यैः काव्यलक्ष्मविधायिभिः)॥१.३॥

So far as the *reflected one* is concerned that is totally different from the first like *Lāvanya* from the beautiful limbs of a lady. That alone bears the capacity of being the soul of an artistic and accomplished poetry of great poets:

प्रतीयमानं पुनरन्यदेव वस्त्वस्ति वाणीषु महाकवीनाम्।

यत् तत् प्रसिद्धावयवातिरिक्तं विभाति लावण्यमिवाङ्गनासु॥

काव्यस्यात्मा³ स एवार्थः॥ 1.4-5 *Dhv.*

(2). Ānanda puts forth an evidence in support of this thesis. He says, 'no matter if the *Dhvani* (*pratiyamāna*) is not available in the works of earlier poeticians, however it is well available in the works of poets of eminence':

'तस्य हि ध्वनेः स्वरूपं चिरन्तन-काव्यलक्षण-⁴ विधायिनां बुद्धिभिरनुमीलितपूर्वम्, अथ च 'रामायण-महाभारत' - प्रभृतिनि लक्ष्ये सर्वत्र प्रसिद्धव्यवहारं लक्ष्यतां सहृदयानामानन्दो मनसि लभतां प्रतिष्ठामिति प्रकाशयते।' *Vṛtti* on *Dhv.* Kārikā 1.1.

'लक्षणकृतामेव स केवलं न प्रसिद्धः, लक्ष्ये तु परीक्ष्यमाणे स एव सहृदयहृदयाह्लादकारि काव्यतत्त्वम्।' *Vṛtti* on Kārikā 1.13.

In the next three parts (*pādas*) of the verse 1.5 Ānanda puts forth an

example from the canto-II of the first chapter Bālakāṇḍa of *Rāmāyaṇa*:

(काव्यस्यात्मा स एवार्थस्) तथा चादिकवेः पुरा ।

क्रौञ्च-द्वन्द्व-वियोगोत्थः शोकः श्लोकत्वमागतः ॥ 1.5 *Dhv.*

(3). It so happened that sage Vālmīki gazed the male⁵ Krauñca: Curlew bird hunted from the pair engaged in love affairs, perhaps in intercourse. The wounded bird fell down on earth with blood and started crying loudly whom the Krauñcī followed. He was trembling with pain. After observing this pathetic incident and feeling in its depth sage Vālmīki cursed the hunter all of a sudden uttering the verse-

मा निषाद ! प्रतिष्ठां त्वमगमः शाश्वतीः समाः ।

यत् क्रौञ्चमिथुनादेकमवधीः काममोहितम् ॥

Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa 1.2.15.

'O hunter! You must be debarred from the society for ever, for all the years to come, as you have brought to death one of a pair of Krauñca birds engaged in love.'

Ānandavardhana took advantage of this incident to support his totally new thesis.

(4). In this incident there are as many as three levels or stages of meanings, observed. They are :

1. What actually happened on the actual bank of actual river Tamasā (near Gaṅgā) which had been witnessed by the actual sage Vālmīki before composing *Rāmāyaṇa*.

2. The incident that is reported in the second canto of *Rāmāyaṇa*'s first chapter-Kāṇḍa. In this stage Vālmīki himself has become a part of poem as he is also given room as a character. He is reported also as stricken with sorrow after witnessing the hunted Krauñca for which the Krauñcī was crying loudly. Vālmīki could not tolerate the bloody hunt of the Krauñca pair and filled with compassion cursed the hunter at once as stated above.

3. After reading the second canto of Bālakāṇḍa of *Rāmāyaṇa* what is experienced by the reader -- sahr̥daya or by us.

Among these three, first one is only an external incident, therefore it is to be treated as a nonpoetic thing. The poetic critic has nothing to do with it. So far as the second one is concerned that is of course a craft but it is included in the third stage and would be enjoyed with that alone. Ānanda is dealing with the craft : poetry or play and therefore, the Vālmīki

of canto 2 of *Rāmāyaṇa*'s chapter - 1 : Bālakaṇḍa represents us, the enjoyers of the present day. Discarding the notion 'Dhvani is not available in the earlier treatises on poetics' Ānanda says - 'even if the element called Dhvani is absent in the works of earlier rhetoricians, it is amply present in the works of great poets like Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa* and Vyāsa's *Mahābhārata*. In those works it is rather this element: Dhvani which is the main centre of attraction. One may take up the incident of hunting of the bird curlew in the second canto of the first chapter of *Rāmāyaṇa* in which the experience of pathos is a reality though no word like śoka or sorrow is used therein, therefore it is to be called *pratīyamāna* alone: not mentioned by its name, yet being felt'. In the Kārikā 1.5 it is this second Vālmīki which is referred to.⁶

(5). Abhinavagupta takes this statement of Ānanda otherwise. He doesn't care for the second Vālmīki. In his mind the first stage of worldly *karuṇā* in first Vālmīki is utilized for the establishment of suggested meaning that is here Karuṇa-rasa for Abhinavagupta and merely a sense of Karuṇā: compassion for others. For the stage of *rāsa* the Krauñca bird bathed in blood bears the position of Vibhāva, crying, etc, of the pair of Krauñca and Krauñcī of Anubhāva and as soon as these all awaken the emotion of spectator (Vālmīki) the spectators sink into the same experience, which is elevated to the position of '*rāsa*'. This *rāsa* is called 'Karuṇarasa' which is far above from the universal and materialistic sorrow. In it the heart of spectator (Vālmīki) becomes melted and it overflows like a jar overfilled with water. It is an overflow of the mental state like the utterance in sorrow. It gives an indication of mental state irrespective of the relation in between word and meaning. It is converted in the form of *śloka* - metre, due to the flow of current in its natural way. It followed the way of expression in the metre which had been lying in the mind of sage due to the repeated utterance of Vaidika *mantras*. It was not the sorrow of Vālmīki's heart. In that case he could not have uttered the metre. It was the Karuṇarasa, having the sense of sorrow as its *sthāyibhāva* which had overflowed from the poet and therefore resulted into the form of Poem. In his work called *Hṛdayadarpaṇa*, Bhaṭṭanāyaka has realised this position of poetic expression and has already put this experience in the proverb - 'यावत् पूर्णो न चैतेन तावन्नैव वमत्यमुम्' - 'the heart of poet does not overflow till it is completely filled in with the same' (*Locana* on Kārikā - 5).

(6). On this Kārikā the *Vṛtti* runs like this -

विविध-वाच्य-वाचक-रचना-प्रपञ्च-चारुणः काव्यस्य स एवार्थः सारभूतः। तथा चादिकवेः
निहत-सहचरीविरहकातर-क्रौञ्चाक्रन्द-जनितः शोक एव श्लोक्तया परिणतः। शोको हि
करुणस्थायिभावः।

In this sentence of *Vṛtti* the term *ātmā* of Kārikā is translated as *sāra*. Kālidāsa was the first critic of this incident who had followed the same line

of thinking sayng-

तामभ्यगच्छद् रुदितानुसारी कविः कुशेध्माऽऽहरणाय यातः।
निषादविद्भाण्डजदर्शनोत्थः श्लोकत्वमापद्यत यस्य शोकः ॥

Raghuvamśa 14.70

Rājasekhara had also taken this incident into account. In his *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* chapter-III he puts the incident in these words:

अनुप्रेक्षितश्च स (काव्यपुरुषः) तथा (सरस्वत्या) निषादनिहतसहचरीकं क्रौञ्चयुवानं
करुणक्रेङ्कारया गिरा क्रन्दन्तमुदीक्ष्य शोकवान् श्लोकमुज्जगाद 'मा निषादे'-ति।

(Dalal edi., 1934, page 7)

It means the sorrow of Vālmīki turned into the form of verse मा निषाद, etc. If one asks who is this Vālmīki, the Vālmīki of actual world or the Vālmīki belonging to the second stage of canto II of Bālakāṇḍa of the epic *Rāmāyaṇa*, what would be the convincing reply? This question is neither raised nor replied to by the learned translators of *Dhvanyāloka* and *Locana*. In the work *Śāntarasa* by Masson and Patwardhan, published from the B.O.R.I. Poona in 1969 the verse has been quoted and translated with *Locana* on pages 78-89 but the question about Vālmīki is not touched by the editors. Dr. K. Krishnamoorthy too did not touch this question. He translates the *Dhvanyāloka* Kārikā 1.5 as follows:

'That meaning alone is the soul of poetry; and so it was that, of yore, the sorrow of the first poet (i. e. Vālmīki) at the separation of the curlew took the form of a distich.'

(*The Light of Suggestion*, page 13, 1974)

The third translation by Prof. D. D. Ingalls reads as follows:

'Kārikā : It is just this meaning that is the soul of poetry. And so it was that, long ago, grief arising in the first poet from the separation of the pair of curlew became verse.' (*Harvard Oriental Series No. 49*, 1990)

So also translations into Hindi, etc. do not touch the question. In his Hindi translation Vishveshvara says-

'काव्य की आत्मा वही (प्रतीयमान रस) अर्थ है। इसी से प्राचीन काल में क्रौञ्च (पक्षी) के जोड़े के वियोग से उत्पन्न आदिकवि का शोक (करुणरस का स्थायी भाव) श्लोक (काव्य) रूप में परिणत हुआ।' (*ध्वन्यालोकः*, गौतम बुक डिपो, नई सडक, दिल्ली, 1952).

(7). Abhinavagupta explains the Kārikā otherwise. He says that the 'Soka'-word in Kārikā must be related with separated curlew and not with sage Vālmīki. The *Locana* reads as follows-

शोक इति। क्रौञ्चस्य द्वन्द्ववियोगेन सहचरीहननोद्भूतेन साहचर्यध्वंसनेन उत्थितो यः शोकः स्थायिभावो निरपेक्षभावत्वाद् विप्रलभमश्रृङ्गारोचित-रति-स्थायिभावादय एव। स एव तथाभूतविभाव-तदुत्थाक्रन्दाद्यनुभाव-चर्वणया हृदय-संवाद-तन्मयीभवनक्रमादास्वाद्यमानतां प्रतिपन्नः करुणरसरूपतां लौकिकशोकव्यतिरिक्तां स्वचित्तद्रुतिसमास्वाद्यसारां प्रतिपन्नो रसपरिपूर्ण-कुम्भोच्चलनवत् चित्तवृत्तिनिःष्यन्दस्वभाव-वाग्विलापादिवच्च समयानपेक्षत्वेऽपि चित्तवृत्ति-व्यञ्जकत्वादिति नयेनाकृतकतयैव आवेशवशात् समुचित-शब्दच्छन्दोवृत्ता-दिनियन्त्रितश्लोकरूपतां प्राप्तिः-

मा निषाद प्रतिष्ठां त्वमगमः शाश्वतीः समाः।

यत् क्रौञ्चमिथुनादेकमवधीः काममोहितम्॥

(वाल्मीकिरामायण, बाल. 2.15)

न तु मुनेः शोक इति मन्तव्यम्। एवं हि सति तददुःखेन सोऽपि दुःखित इति कृत्वा रसात्मतेति निरवकाशं भवेत्। न च दुःखसन्तप्तस्यैषा दशेति एवं चर्वणोचितशोकस्थायिभावात्मक-करुण-रस-समुच्चलनस्वभावत्वात् स एव काव्यस्यात्मा सारभूतस्वभावोऽपरशाब्दवैलक्षण्यकारकः। एतदेवोक्तं हृदयदर्पणे - 'यावत् पूर्णो न चैतेन तावन्नैव वमत्यमुमि-ति। (ध्वन्यालोक, 1.5 कारिका, 1940, वाराणसी).

Dr. Ingalls has translated this complete passage without considering the present day reader. The Śoka coming from actual position can not be called स्थायी भाव. It is only momentary. The Śoka felt by Vālmīki on the bank of Tamasā was absolutely a materialistic, worldly Śoka or Karuṇā so to say for which the term स्थायी भाव could never be used. It would be called *sthāyī* when made available through written/poetic composition i.e. poetry, etc. Again the term चर्वणा needs its substratum as to who is the fellow experiencing this notion of śoka? Undoubtedly it was Vālmīki in the words of *Locana*, whereas it should have been a reader or spectator. The sage Vālmīki cannot be accepted as a reader or enjoyer of śoka resulting from the reading of the beautiful śloka 'mā niṣāda', etc. Or one may be allowed to put a word 'रामायणस्य क्रौञ्चवधवृत्तान्ते' before क्रौञ्चस्य or after 'शोक इति।' But that is not the position of the language of *Vṛtti* or of the *Locana*. This passage of *Locana* reminds one of the first verse of *Abhinavabhāratī*.

यस्तन्मयान् हृदयसंवदनक्रमेण द्राक् चित्रशक्तिगणभूमिविभागभागी।

हर्षोल्लसत्परिविकारजुषः करोति वन्देत्तमां तमहमिन्दुकलावतंसम्॥

"It is only Śiva who makes all the spectators blissful according to their respective sympathetic response... '=hṛdaya samvadanakrameṇa'" It is to be noted here that in the statement of *Abhinavabhāratī* no one else is given room except the performers and spectators, whereas in the verse 'kāvyasyātmā' Vālmīki has been introduced in between by अभिनवगुप्त if not by आनन्द.

Dr. K. Krishnamoorthy⁷ and Hindi translator Vishveshvara have also followed the same line. They too could not make the second canto of *Rāmāyaṇa*

their central point for aesthetic pleasure. The English translation of Prof. K. Krishnamoorthy as well as that of Prof. D. D. Ingalls has already been quoted.

In the work *Śāntarasa And Abhinavagupta's Philosophy Of Aesthetics*⁹ Dr. Masson and Patwardhan have taken the 'śoka' related with first poet Vālmīki even though that was refuted by Abhinavagupta by saying 'न तु मुनेः शोक इति मन्तव्यम्'. In the work under the title *Śāntarasa* the translation of *Locana* on the *Dhvanikārikā* 1.5 is given as follows:

'Oh hunter, may you never, for eternal years, attain to stability (*pratiṣṭhā*) (in this world) since you killed, from a pair of Krauñca birds, the male (when) he was engrossed in love (-making). (Page 83 line 10).

For this, the passages of *Locana* are also quoted and translated in the book (pp. 78-83). It is to be noted here that the base of this translation was the Kāśī edition of *Dhvanīyāloka* with *Locana* printed in 1940 but corrected afterwards. The translators do not know the corrections as they were printed in the year 1970. The work has been printed by the Banaras Hindu University under the title *ध्वन्यालोक* but has not yet been released. The *Locana* is also printed in its corrected text coupled with *कौमुदी* and a fresh Sanskrit commentary. The text of *Locana* is printed in this work as follows: (Page 22 bottom, line - 5) 'एवं 'प्रतीयमानं पुनरन्यदेव' इतीयता व्याख्यातम् (dropping the word ध्वनिस्वरूपं after इतीयता) अधुना काव्यात्मत्वमितिहासव्याजेनैव दर्शयति काव्यस्यात्मेति।' Due to the gap of communication Prof. Ingalls also missed to quote the correction in his work published after 20 years of the corrected print. The text of *Locana* printed in 1940 of 'Kāśī edition' had been quoted by Professor Masson and Patwardhan in their work *Śāntarasa*, on page 79. Obviously the word 'च' in the 'इतिहासव्याजेन च' was misfit in the sentence. Professor Ingalls too could not rectify the wrong as is printed in the list of corrections on pages 749-775 of his work. The work *Śāntarasa* could have collected these corrections, for this work was published in 1969. The text of *Vṛtti* on *Kārikā* 1.5 is also printed with some sensitive readings in this unreleased work as follows:

'विविध-'विशिष्ट'-वान्यवाचकरचनाप्रपञ्च-'चारुणः काव्यस्य स एवार्थः सारभूतः।
तथा चादिकवेस्संनिहित-सहचरी-विरह-कातरक्रौञ्चा०'।

In this print the words underlined are to examine the facts being communicated. The first word 'विशिष्ट' has been, we are informed, available in the MSS. क, ख. The word प्रपञ्च is communicated as dropped in the MSS. क & ख. So also for 'कवेस्संनिहित०' following footnote is printed therein—

ग. 'निहतसहचरी' 'संनिहित' इति पाठे वाल्मीकेः संनिहितः सहचर्याः क्रौञ्च्या विरहेण सहचरक्रौञ्चमरणजन्यसंयोगाभावज्ञानेन कातरो दीनो यः क्रौञ्चविषय(अस्तद्विषय)क आक्रन्दः सहचारिणं क्रौञ्चमधिकृत्य प्रवृत्तो यः सहचरीकर्तृकः सहचरक्रौञ्चविरहभावनाजन्यो हृदयनिष्ठदुःखावेगोद्गारसूचको रोदनविलपनादिस्तेन जनित इत्यर्थोऽनुसन्धेयः।

Somewhere 'क्रौञ्च्याक्रन्द' reading is also adopted. In the text printed in the Kāśī edition of 1940 the line निहत-सहचरीविरहकातरक्रौञ्चाक्र० is taken as 'निहतश्चासौ सहचरीविरहकातरश्च क्रौञ्चः, तस्याक्र०' In the reading क्रौञ्ची the word सहचरी is understood as सहचारि. Now again 'निहतस्य सहचारिणो विरहेण कातरायाः क्रौञ्च्या आक्रन्देन जनितः शोकः would be the विग्रह of the compound. Somehow the change in the term *sahacari* as *sahacāri* is beautiful yet artificial as well.

(9). To solve the problem one may adopt the way of the explanation as follows:

In the sentence of curse 'Mā niśāda', etc., no word like śoka is used, yet the sense of śoka is being felt by us from the śloka uttered by Vālmīki. This śloka is nothing else but *karuṇā* (compassion) and is *pratiyamāna* only. Through it the thesis of *pratiyamāna* is fully justified. The approach of Abhinavagupta to the context is very much farfetched, though the issue is simple. The term 'itihāsa' used by Abhinavagupta is also limited upto this much part of the incident. Thus this explanation with the simile of a jar filled with water and overflowing is just extravagance. There arises no question of how a poet composes a poem in the context of Ānanda's treatment of new thrust of aesthetics.

Abhinavagupta is habituated to misinterpret simple things. This is disgusting. The thesis of discarding Dhvanis of Vastu and Alankāra from the state of soul of poetry is also one of the results of Abhinavagupta's this kind of habit. Otherwise Ānanda is ready to declare all the three Dhvanis as soul of poetry.

(10). The term Ātman is also a vague term. One may take the sense- 'the *pratiyamāna* meaning alone forms poetry' from the statement '*Kāvyaśyātmā sa evārthah.*' No Ātman of philosophy in its strict sense can be taken in the field of Aesthetics wherein it stands only in the secondary meaning of *sāra*, *jīvātu*, *upanīśadbhūta*, etc. The stages called '*hrdaya-sarvāda*' and तन्मयीभवन - these two stages of experience are not to be seen in the hunting episode of Krauñca, because the incident took place in actual world, which is not poetry and in the second canto of *Rāmāyaṇa*'s Bālakāṇḍa Vālmīki does not happen to be the enjoyer of that episode. He too falls into the group called Vibhāvas as it's '*avacchedaka*' or its unavoidable factor or characteristic.

(11). In a nutshell, in the context of 'Kāvyaśyātmā' (*Dhv.* 1.5), one has to start thinking from the second canto of Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa* leaving aside the actual incident which took place on the actual bank of actual Tamasā. Here the word śoka will be taken in the sense of *karuṇā* alone. That is sufficient to help the minute aspects of aesthetic philosophy. The utterance of verse, all of a sudden from Vālmīki's mouth will be taken as a usual incident without the sense of 'rasa' behind it. The theory of Bhaṭṭanāyaka

'*yāvat pūrṇo na caiteṇa*', etc. would then be taken as an overflow of emotion and not of '*rasa*' which is limited upto the enjoyer alone, Vālmīki stands very much far from that. Vālmīki, being a character of poetic composition can never be called as enjoyer of *rasa* coming out from the poetry. The exaggeration in sensitive exposition should be taken off from the poetic explanation of poetic work or the work on poetry called poetics.

The term *rasa* has two senses (i) one is आस्वाद taste and (ii) the other one is the subject which is tasted आस्वाद्य. Of these, first is always residing in the enjoyer and it is the enjoyer to whom belongs the taste. Consequently, in poetry what is available is the property which enables to provoke the taste or Vyañjaka. Of course Vālmīki of actual world had had some piteous feeling by seeing the crying Krauñca in a pool of blood and Krauñcī both, but this is not the taste coming out from any artistic composition. It is merely a case of mental sensual grief of worldly person. So far as the incident put forth through the conceiving of *Rāmāyaṇa*'s second canto of Bālakāṇḍa it is we who are being influenced. Vālmīki is no more at this moment. As far as the establishment of the suggested property in artistic accomplishment is concerned that is amply proved by the curse-sentence of Vālmīki '*Mā niṣāda*', etc. How can a person who is not stricken with grief, utter the curse-sentence for any hunter? It is therefore proved that Vālmīki was feeling sorrow in his heart for which no *śoka* or sorrow word is used, leaving it all suggested.

(12). The text of *Vṛtti* on *Dhv.* Kārikā 1.5 should also be noted. The *Rāmāyaṇa* puts forth the incident thus 'Hunter killed the male bird: Krauñca therefore the female Krauñca : Krauñcī cried.' The *Vṛtti* goes just against it. In *Vṛtti* Krauñcī had been killed and it was Krauñca which cried loudly. It means Ānanda himself did not follow the text of *Rāmāyaṇa*. Abhinavagupta too follows the *Vṛtti*. On this point the editor of Uttuṅodaya's *Kaumudī* suggested the correction 'sahacārī' for 'sahacārī' in bracket. Accordingly, the term Krauñca may also be taken as Krauñcī as done by Alakhadeva in his commentary called *Prakāśikā*, published in 1954 from Master Kheladilal, Varanasi, on *Dhv.* The other way to solve the problem would be the explanation of compound in निहतस०, etc. like this --

क्रौञ्चश्च क्रौञ्ची चेत्येकशेषेण क्रौञ्चौ । निहतश्च सहचारिविरहकातरश्चेति निहतसहचारिविरहकातरौ ।
तौ च तौ क्रौञ्चौ चेति । निहतत्वं क्रौञ्चे, विरहकातरत्वं च क्रौञ्च्यमिति यथाक्रमयोजनया ।
तयोर्य आक्रन्दस्तज्जनितः शोकः ।

Ānanda is habitual of using this kind of compound as in the Kārikā 'यत्रार्थः', etc. 1.13. In this Kārikā he used the compound word उपसर्जनीकृतस्वार्थौ in the sense उपसर्जनीकृतस्वः अर्थः, उपसर्जनीकृतार्थश्च शब्दः.

The word सहचरी could easily be taken as सहचारि on the palaeographical

ground of Brāhmī script of tenth century. In the Brāhmī script सहचारी could be deciphered as सहचरी very easily । is the symbol of 'ca' = च and of 'चा' । is the symbol of रि and 'र' of री. Confusion between these is possible. So far as the words 'Krauñca' and 'Krauñcyā' are concerned the symbol of 'य' = ऽ is difficult to accept that it is missing. Hence the reading of Ānanda must have been 'Krauñcā' alone. The final wording of the text would, hence, be finalized as निहतसहचारि-विरहकातरक्रौञ्चाक्र०. The reading सहचरी is against the famous version of *Rāmāyaṇa* 1.2. This way the crying is made available in both 'Krauñci' as well as 'Krauñca' that is natural and befitting to the *Rāmāyaṇa* 1.2 canto.

The *śoka* is reported to become *śloka*, it is therefore natural to accept Vālmīki alone as the substratum of *śoka* as he alone is sought to be the substratum of *śloka*. The agency of the rise of *śoka* is put into the observation of separation of the Krauñca pair. The observer is the poet Vālmīki whose reaction is recorded in the poem *Rāmāyaṇa*, though there would have been others also, but without reaction. And the reaction alone was the token of sorrow in Vālmīki and in none else. This sorrow is nothing else but pity called karuṇā or kārūṇya in *Rāmāyaṇa* itself 'ऋषेर्धर्मात्मनस्तस्य कारुण्यं समपद्यत' (1.2.13 *Rāmāyaṇa*). And it is all worldly or लौकिक, therefore the *śoka* in craft or art only. *Śoka* will reach the position of 'sthāyī bhāva' in the soul of the enjoyers of *Rāmāyaṇa* or sahrdayas alone. The verdict of Abhinavagupta न तु मुनेः शोकः is therefore untenable. As also the conversion of *śoka* into the form of *śloka* with its 'overflowing like a jar filled in' - is not at all tenable in actuality so far as the accomplished *rasa* is concerned. Here the mind is filled in with sorrow of Vālmīki and with *Karuṇa rasa* of the enjoyer of his *Rāmāyaṇa*. There was lying a sense of *karuṇā* in Vālmīki and *Karuṇa rasa* in the enjoyers. These both issues are separate ones and they should not be confused. Of course, the creator of poem is also affected with some emotion but that is only a cause of the creation of poetry, that is not *rasa*. That would reach the stage of *rasa* if enjoyed by readers.

Notes and References

1. 'सहृदय-हृदयाह्लादि-शब्दार्थमयत्वमेव काव्यलक्षणम्' 1.1 Vṛtti, *Dhv*.
2. काव्यस्यात्मा = the form of Poetry 'आत्मा यत्नो धृतिर्बुद्धिः स्वभावो ब्रह्म वर्षं च'
Amarakoṣa 3.3.9.
'आत्मा चित्ते धृतौ यत्ने धिषणायां कलेवेदे, परमात्मनि जीवेऽर्के हुताशन-समीरयोः'
Anekārthasamgraha of Hemacandra.
'आत्मा पुंसि स्वभावेऽपि प्रयत्नमनसोरपि ।
धृतावपि मनीषायां शरीरब्रह्मणोरपि । नत्रिक. मेदिनी, 38. It is therefore justified to have 'ātmā' in the sense of form in 1.2. *Dhv*.
3. Here 'ātmā' stands for the element called 'Kṣetrajña' and 'Puruṣa' in *Amarakoṣa* itself 'क्षेत्रज्ञ आत्मा पुरुषः' 1.4.29. The translation 'soul' for 'ātmā' is, therefore, correct

in this context of 1.5 Dhv.

4. 'काव्यलक्षण' is the title of Daṇḍī's work on poetics famous as Kāvyaḍarśa, as is evident from Daṇḍī's Kārikā as follows--
 पूर्वशास्त्राणि संहृत्य प्रयोगानुपलक्ष्य च ।
 यथासामर्थ्यमस्माभिः क्रियते काव्यलक्षणम् ॥ काव्यादर्शः, 1.2.
 Ānanda, Abhinavagupta and Mammata restrict their tongue to name Daṇḍī, yet their unconscious mind reflects the truth.
5. 'पुमांसं पापनिश्चयः the evil-minded (hunter) जघान' *Rāmāyana* 1.2.10. Accordingly, the reading निहतसहचरी in Vṛtti of *Dhv.* and *Kāvyaṁimānsā* differs from the text of *Rāmāyaṇa*.
6. To make the point clear 'तथा चादिकवेः पुरा' would have been composed like 'तथा रामायणे पुरः'
7. *Dhvanyāloka*, Karnataka University, Dharwar, 1974.
8. *Śāntarasa And Abhinavagupta's Philosophy Of Aesthetics*, by J. L. Masson and M. V. Patwardhan, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, 1969.

Region, Pilgrimage and Religious Geography In Maharashtra

Anne Feldhaus

My topic today* is "Region, Pilgrimage, and Religious Geography in Maharashtra."¹ Let me first try to express what I mean by that. I am interested in the ways in which some Maharashtrians live and make sense of their world. I want to show that people in Maharashtra inhabit a variety of regions that acquire religious meaning in a number of different ways. By "region" I mean a part of the earth that has coherence and meaning in some respect for some people. I understand a region to be a set of places that are connected to one another and that, taken together, contrast with some other set of places (another region). A region in this sense is not the concern of an "objective" geography that would identify, for instance, the region within which certain plants or animals are found, the region within which the roofs of houses are made with one, as opposed to another, sort of material, or the region within which a particular script is used for the written form of languages. Rather, the kind of region I am interested in is one that is thought of as such by its residents and usually also by some others, an area with a distinct identity and significance for people who live in it and for others who think and care about it.²

When most of us think about pilgrimage in Maharashtra, we tend to think of the most famous pilgrimage, that of the Vārkarīs to Pandharpur at Aśādhī Ekādaśī. In this pilgrimage, Vārkarīs accompany palanquins that travel from all corners of the Deśa of Maharashtra to Pandharpur, the site of the principal temple of the god Viṭhobā. In the late 1940's, the sociologist Iravati Karve accompanied the most famous Vārkarī palanquin, that of the thirteenth-century saint Jñāneśvara, as it made its two-week journey from his *samādhi* temple at Ālandī to Pandharpur. When Karve took part in the Vārkarīs' pilgrimage, the Samyukta Maharashtra movement was well under way. Karve's experience of the pilgrimage seems to have been coloured by the politicized regionalism that people like her were very conscious of at the time, and that brought the movement for a United Maharashtra its ultimate success. In summing up her account of the pilgrimage, Karve stated (Karve 1962):

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So, I was getting to know my Maharashtra anew every day. I found a new definition of Maharashtra: the land whose people go to Pandharpur for pilgrimage. When the palanquin started from Poona, there were people from Poona, Junnar, Moglai, Satara, etc. Every day people were joining the pilgrimage from Khandesh, Sholapur, Nasik, Berar. As we neared Pandharpur, the pilgrimage was becoming bigger and bigger. All were Marathi-speaking people coming from different castes, but singing the same songs, the same verses of (the) Vārkarī cult, speaking to each other, helping each other, singing songs to one another.

For Karve, the pilgrimage to Pandharpur was a way to experience Maharashtra, a way of "getting to know" it. The pilgrimage was a way to think about Maharashtra, to give it "a new definition." And it was a way to deepen her own identification with the region ("my Maharashtra"). Iravati Karve was an influential person. Her essays were widely read. Her experience of the Vārkarī pilgrimage must have captivated her readers' imaginations and strengthened the Samyukta Maharashtra movement. The pilgrimage must have become for others, too, a way of thinking about Maharashtra, and it must have helped them to articulate their demand for the founding of the state.

However, the region defined by the Vārkarī pilgrimage is an exception. It is the one religiously-defined region that closely approaches congruence with modern Maharashtra State. Unlike the Vārkarīs' pilgrimage, the other pilgrimages and religious-geographical imagery I have been studying have not yet had effective interpreters like Karve, nor have they contributed to the formation of modern political entities like Maharashtra State. Although the other pilgrimages, concepts, and images I will discuss have for the most part *not* affected the political aspirations of the people who participate in the pilgrimages or hold the concepts and images in their minds, they nevertheless *have* provided, and *do* provide, important means for people to experience, think about, and imagine a variety of regions. They help people to make sense of their world, and to be at home in it.

In the rest of this article I will present some examples of religious images and pilgrimages that do this for some people in Maharashtra. I will first discuss religious ideas and practices related to rivers; next, goddesses who travel to be near one of their devotees; and then numbered sets of places, including sets that consist of seven goddesses who are one another's sisters.

1. Rivers

In the course of their forest exile, the five Paṇḍavas decided to perform a sacrifice at a place called Pāṇḍeśvar that is now located on the Karhā river. At the time of the Pāṇḍavas, the Karhā river did not exist, and there was no water at Pāṇḍeśvar. Searching for the water that they needed for

their sacrifice, two of the brothers, Arjuna and Nakula, found a *ṛṣi*, an ascetic Brāhmaṇa sage, meditating on a nearby mountaintop. The brothers knocked over the *ṛṣi*'s water pot (his *karhā*), and the water from the pot flowed down the mountainside and across the plateau toward Pāṇḍeśvar. With the furious *ṛṣi* hot on their heels, the two brothers ran downstream along the route that the water was taking. Each time the *ṛṣi* came too close, they would toss a grain of rice behind them. The grain of rice would turn into a Śivaliṅga, and the *ṛṣi* would stop to worship it. Thus were founded the Śiva temples of the many villages along the upper reaches of the Karhā river.³

This story, which is widely told in Purandar Taluka of Pune District, is a story about the founding of a region. The story shows how a set of places came to be connected to one another. The connection among these places came into being because the two brothers ran from one of the places to another, connecting them by physically moving between them. In another sense, the places came to be connected because they are similar: each has a temple with a Śivaliṅga that the brothers installed and that the *ṛṣi* was the first to worship. And, most fundamentally, the places are connected because the water of the Karhā river flows from one of them to another.

Rivers are the only element of the landscape that themselves move. As they flow from one place to another, they connect the places that they move between. Because they move, providing a physical link among places, rivers allow people to bring spatially separated places together in their imaginations. The story of the origin of the Karhā river is but one example of the many religious ways in which people in Maharashtra use river to imagine, conceptualize and experience regions. Let me give you two more examples: a verbal image, and a pilgrimage.

A Marathi version of the *Godāvarī Māhātmya* (Dāsagaṇū 1921, chapter 31, verses 83–85) identifies eight "organs" or "limbs" (*aṣṭāṅga*) of the Godāvarī river: Brahmagiri (at Tryambakeshvar) is the Godavari's head; Punatambe is its mouth or face; and Puri, "near... Paithan", is the river's neck. The heart of the Godavari is Manjarath; the navel is Śaṅkha *tīrtha* (at Nanded). Manthani, in Andhra Pradesh, is the hips, and Dharmapuri the knees, while Rajamahendri is the eighth limb, the feet. A Brāhmaṇa resident of Paithan who was aware of this image pointed out its similarity to the Puruṣasūkta of the *Rgveda* (10.90), the hymn that portrays the strata of society and of the natural world as deriving from the parts of the sacrificed cosmic giant, Puruṣa. Such an identification of a river as a body presents a powerful cosmological image, an image that implies that the river is organic and human. To identify the body with the Vedic Puruṣa implies in addition that the river is the stuff out of which the universe is made. These are rather grand claims. But what interests me in the present context is this: in the process of making these

ambitious cosmological claims, the imagery *also* serves to bring together various places along the river in a conceptual unity.

Pilgrimages also help to create regions. Passing through an area with one's body, or imagining oneself - or someone else - doing so, gives one a sense of the area as a region. It makes it possible to imagine the region, to see it as a coherent unit, a set of connected places. Daund, a railway junction and taluka headquarters on the Bhima river in eastern Pune District, provides a clear example of a river pilgrimage in which a number of local, village gods travel in palanquins to some one place along a river so that they can all be bathed at the same time. The Daund pilgrimage is held on the eleventh day of the bright half of the month of Āṣāḍha (June–July). This is the day known as Āṣāḍhī Ekādaśī, the culminating day of the Vārkarī's pilgrimage to Pandharpur. On this day in 1998, twelve palanquins from different villages in Daund Taluka and neighbouring Baramati Taluka formed a procession at the far side of the railway tracks, away from the river. The palanquins held brass masks or other portable images of goddesses and Śaiva gods. The procession travelled slowly through the underpass beneath the railway lines, onto the main street of Daund, down that street past the main square and into the market area, and finally to the river. There the people accompanying each of the palanquins removed the god from their palanquin, washed the god, took baths in the river, and performed *pūjā* to the god before setting off to return home.

Even though the deities in the various palanquins that came to Daund that year for the procession and bath in the river are all goddesses or forms of Śiva, several people who offered me interpretations of the festival understood it in terms of the cult of the god Viṭhobā of Pandharpur, a god usually identified with Kṛṣṇa or Viṣṇu. These interpreters saw the Bhima river as linking Daund with Pandharpur. Flowing past Daund to Viṭhobā's distant town, a town that is the goal of hundreds of thousands of pilgrims on the same day as the Daund pilgrimage, the river enables the villagers and gods who come to Daund to participate in what one interpreter called the "joy" of the larger pilgrimage that reaches Pandharpur on the same day.

In addition, though, the Daund pilgrimage has another religious-geographical function. It dramatizes the small region constituted by the places from which the gods in the palanquins come to Daund. The procession of the palanquins from the various places brings together important gods of the places as well as representative citizens from the places: the men and women who have brought the gods. The procession of the people carrying the gods in the palanquins makes the region they all come from visible, both to the participants and to observers. The palanquin procession to the river forms a kind of map. It represents the region not on paper but by means of the images

of the gods and the bodies of the people who come from the places it brings together.

2. Goddesses travelling for their *bhaktas*

As far as I know, there is no particular story that motivates or explains the pilgrimage to Daund. Two other pilgrimages I want to introduce here *do* have stories, and in each case the story belongs to a type that is very commonly told about gods and goddesses in Maharashtra. The story is, in each case, that a goddess has travelled from one place to another, and that she has done so in order to be closer to a devoted *bhakta*. In each case, descendants of that *bhakta* carry a palanquin - and, in one of the cases, a bedstead as well - to the original temple of the goddess. Hence, these two pilgrimages connect places not only by means of the physical movement of the pilgrims and the objects they carry but also through the *story* of the goddess's journey between her original place and the founding devotee's home.

While stories like these are quite common, pilgrimage festivals that replicate them are relatively rare. The two I want to tell you about today are the only ones I have found so far. In the first of these two pilgrimages, the one from Jejuri to Navkhan around the time of the festival of Holi, pilgrims carry the goddess Jāṇāī back to her original place for a visit. In the other pilgrimage, devotees of the goddess Bhavānī carry an empty bedstead and an empty palanquin to Tuljapur for the Dasarā festival. Here too the pilgrims understand their journey to replicate one that their goddess and one of her devotees first made.

Jāṇāī

Jāṇāī has a temple in the town of Jejuri, downhill from the temple of Khaṇḍobā that dominates the town. Many people call Jāṇāī Khaṇḍobā's sister, but this seems to mean primarily that she lives near him but is not his wife. Jāṇāī's most important temple is located about 100 kilometers to the south of Jejuri, at Navkhan, in Patan Taluka, Satara District. The man who is said to have brought her from there to Jejuri was Nāgo Mālī, a member of the Gardener (Mālī) caste. Nāgo Mālī's descendants still live in Jejuri. Mahadu Jhagade, a fourth-generation descendant of Nāgo Mālī, narrated the story as follows:

Nāgo Mālī was god-crazy, and so he would go there (to Navkhan). He would say only, "My mother, Jāṇubāī." Nothing else. He would go, and he would come back. And the goddess was pleased with him. After she was pleased with him, there's our pool, isn't there? There was a small pool near (where) the goddess('s temple is now). He found three

masks there then, rounded stones... She had said, "Go to such-and-such a place. Look there, search in the mud. I am going to emerge there." And she did emerge. And he was joyful, because the goddess had come.

If the story of Nāgo Mālī explains the presence of Jāṇāī in Jejuri, it also motivates the annual pilgrimage festival in which residents of Jejuri carry the goddess in a palanquin *back* to her original place, Navkhan. Jāṇāī's pilgrimage festival involves a series of events spread over several weeks preceding and following the festival of Holi.

The pilgrimage to Navkhan has a special significance for the Jhagade family, and especially for Mahadu Jhagade and his wife. But the pilgrimage is not only a private, family one for the Jhagades. Most of the people who take part in the pilgrimage do so not as relatives of Nāgo Mālī but as citizens of Jejuri. The pilgrimage festival brings the community of Jejuri together with the distant place Navkhan. For those who walk with the Jhagades, the pilgrimage festival also brings together the places they pass through or stop in along the way. The pilgrims who accompany the palanquin follow a set route, which they are well aware of, and they perform set rituals at the various places where they stop. The pilgrims who travel from Jejuri to Navkhan by jeep pass through other places. In both cases, the pilgrims link Jejuri not only with Navkhan but also with all the places in between. In *this* context, then, for *these* pilgrims, *these* places constitute a set that the people bring together with their bodies, in their experience, and therefore also, whether in a verbally articulate manner or not, with their minds and imaginations. Such a set of linked places is a region.

Thus, the story of Nāgo Mālī and the pilgrimage that retraces his and Jāṇāī's route enacts a region that consists most importantly in a connection between two places: a local place and a distant one. For devotees at the local place - the ones for whom, after all, the story is important - the story puts their locality into a broader context and connects their home with a larger, outside world. The story creates a conceptual region, however narrow, consisting of the local place, the distant place, and all the places in between. When such a story is associated, as here, with a pilgrimage in which devotees from the "branch" temple travel to the "original" temple from which the goddess came, the conceptual region is also a circulatory one, with pilgrims' own bodies effecting the connection between the places.

Tuljā Bhavānī's Palanquin and Bedstead

Burhannagar, a village on the outskirts of Ahmadnagar, provides a different and more complex example of a linked story and pilgrimage connecting a "branch" temple with its original site. Here too the goddess is understood to have travelled from her original place to a local temple, and here too

the story told about this involves *bhakti*. The kind of *bhakti* involved here is something like *vātsalya bhakti*, the parental love often associated with devotion to the baby Kṛṣṇa. The original temple in this pilgrimage is that of the goddess Bhavānī at Tuljapur.

The devotee because of whom the goddess is also found in Burhannagar was named Jānkojī. Jānkojī was a Telī, a member of the oil-presser caste. One day a sickly little girl appeared on Jānkojī's doorstep. Jānkojī and his wife took her in, fed her, and nourished her to good health. The girl brought prosperity to Jānkojī's household, but when suitors began to demand her hand in marriage, she disappeared. Distraught, Jānkojī travelled all over looking for her. Finally, when he came to Tuljapur and saw the goddess there, he recognized her as the girl he had adopted as his daughter. The goddess promised him that she would use the palanquin and bedstead that he and his descendants would bring to Tuljapur each year in time for the Dasarā festival.

According to Arjun Kisan Bhagat, it was twenty-seven generations ago, or "before 1200 AD," that this all happened. His, he said, is the 28th generation that has been following this custom. Five generations ago, the family split into those who carry the bedstead (*palanig*) and those who carry the palanquin. The first group, appropriately named Palañge, is descended from a sister, and the other group, with the surname Bhagat, is descended from her brother.

For both the palanquin and the bedstead, the journey lasts more than a month, and in each case the route and the halting places are fixed. The bedstead starts from Ghodegav, in northwest Pune District, and the palanquin from Rahuri, in northern Ahmadnagar District. While the bedstead is carried relatively sedately, at first by four men and eventually, people told me, by as many as fifty, the empty palanquin gets passed along more wildly from village to village on its route. To the sound of large *dhol* drums and accompanied by groups of young men dancing *lejhim*, the extremely heavy wooden palanquin proceeds sporadically from one village to the next, twisting around in circles, jumping up and down, and at times running far off in the opposite direction from its goal. In each village where the bedstead or the palanquin stops, people come to look at it and to make offerings to it — and some people climb under it and out the other side. On the last night of Navarātra — or, rather, very early on the morning of Dasarā — the palanquin serves to carry the main image of the goddess (not any smaller, festival image such as most temples use, but the main one from the inner shrine) around the courtyard of her temple in Tuljapur in the boundary - crossing ritual typical of Dasarā. The goddess is then put to rest on the bedstead, where she sleeps until the full-moon day.

Jānkojī's descendants understand themselves to be carrying on the

father-daughter relationship between their ancestor and the goddess of Tuljapur. Arjun Bhagat goes to Tuljapur to meet his daughter, the goddess, just as Jānkojī did. At the climax of the festival, on the last night of Navarātra in Tuljapur, Bhagat carries a food offering in to the goddess; he carries it over his stomach, in a cloth tied around his waist, he explained, because that is how one carries food for a child. I am not quite sure what he meant by this, but his wife's parental gesture was unambiguous, when she illustrated the tender way her husband puts his hand under the goddess's head as he places her in the palanquin - another thing he gets to do during the last night of Navarātra. "Like a daughter," I said, interpreting the movements of Mrs. Bhagat's hands. "Yes," she replied, and smiled.

Like Jānāī's pilgrimage, the journey of the palanquin and bedstead to Tuljapur brings together other people besides the families who have the most prominent roles in the festival, and it links the goddess's original location (in this case, Tuljapur) with many other places besides her principal *bhakta's* home (Ahmadnagar and its suburb Burhannagar). Two of the places that the pilgrimage connects with Tuljapur are Ghodegav and Rahuri, the places where the bedstead and the palanquin are made. Also like Jānāī's palanquin, Tuljā Bhavānī's palanquin and bedstead pass through a number of other places in the course of their pilgrimage. The palanquin and bedstead bring together these places that they pass through. In each village that the palanquin or bedstead stops in along the way, residents greet the palanquin or bedstead, make offerings to it, and celebrate festively its presence in their village.

The journey of the bedstead from Ghodegav to Ahmadnagar to Tuljapur and the journey of the palanquin from Rahuri to Burhannagar (Ahmadnagar) to Tuljapur constitute a single pilgrimage, despite the differences in their routes and programs. Because the palanquin and the bedstead start from different places and follow different routes to the mid-point of their pilgrimage (and then from there to Tuljapur), the places that they connect form a region that is more two-dimensional than the relatively one-dimensional line of Jānāī's pilgrimage. Combined, the palanquin and bedstead bring together a region that includes places in northern Pune District, central and southern Ahmadnagar District, western Beed District, eastern Solapur District, and much of Usmanabad District.

In the pilgrimage of the bedstead and palanquin to Tuljapur, then, as is that of Jānāī from Jejuri to Navkhan and back, pilgrims travel along routes that their goddesses took before them. The journeys of the human pilgrims - or of the heavy wooden objects they pass along from one place to another - provide physical connections between the places on their route. Mental connections take the form of stories about the journeys of the goddesses and the ancestor-devotees in the past. In the case of Jānāī and Tuljā Bhavānī,

but also in the case of many other gods and goddesses, stories about their travelling to be near a beloved devotee provide narrative tools with which the people who tell, listen to, or think about the stories bring together mentally the places that the deities start from, the ones they go to, and the ones they pass through along the way.

3. Numbered Sets of Places

Next I want to draw your attention to a religious - geographical phenomenon that is found on an all-India level as well as on the regional level. This phenomenon is that of pilgrimage places grouped in numbered sets. The most famous example of this in Maharashtra is probably the Aṣṭavināyaka. The Aṣṭavināyaka is a set of eight temples all located within 100 kilometers of Pune and dedicated to the god Gaṇeśa or Gaṇapati. How old the eight places are is not clear, nor is it clear when they were brought together as a set. All eight appear to have been pre-existing holy places that became prominent in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. A number of the Aṣṭavināyaka places, particularly Morgav, were connected with the 17th century Deśastha Brāhmaṇa holy man Morobā Gosāvī (1610-1659) of Chinchvad, a village near (and now an industrial suburb of) Pune on the Bombay - Pune Road.

The contemporary popularity of the Aṣṭavināyaka sites and their pilgrimage is in large part a product of modern means of transportation and communication. The places' prominence increased a couple of decades ago, after a popular Marathi film called "Aṣṭavināyak" showed the good things that happened to its hero after he made the pilgrimage, and the bad things that happened when he failed to keep a promise to do so. Today pilgrimage to the Aṣṭavināyaka is most popular in the form of a middle-class outing from Pune, with many pilgrims travelling to the eight places in private jeeps, cars, and buses. In addition to (and in competition with) private bus companies, the State Transport bus system also provides regular service to the whole set of places, covering the eight of them in two day-long trips from Pune. In visiting the Aṣṭavināyaka places, the pilgrim ends up criss-crossing the Pune region. From Morobā Gosāvī's seventeenth century travels between Chinchvad and Morgav to the weekend outings of contemporary day-trippers, the feet and wheels of pilgrims have moved back and forth across the Pune region, connecting the Aṣṭavināyaka places and bringing them together as a set. In recent decades, the Maharashtra Tourism Development Corporation, the State Transport bus system, and numerous private bus companies have facilitated and accelerated the process, turning the area around Pune into a circulatory region defined, in one respect, by travel to the Aṣṭavināyaka places.

However, it is not only, and not even primarily, through the mechanism of pilgrimage that the Aṣṭavināyakas contribute to the formation of their region.

Many more people in the Pune region are aware of the Aṣṭavināyaka than have ever been to any of the places. Even most of those who have gone on pilgrimage to one or more of the Aṣṭavināyaka temples have not, or not yet, managed to travel to all of them. Nevertheless, the existence of the Aṣṭavināyaka as a numbered set makes possible a sense of their area as a region. Even without *travelling* to all of them, residents of this region can *think* of the eight of them as a unit by saying the name "Aṣṭavināyaka" or by looking at the combined holy picture that is multiplied many times over on living room walls, on refrigerator doors, and in household shrines throughout the region.

This holy picture (called a *photo* in Marathi) occurs in a number of variants, most of which schematize the set of eight places to fit a rectangular frame. The eight blocks that form the edges of the rectangle contain more-or-less stylized but clearly differentiated depictions of the actual Gaṇeśa images in the Aṣṭavināyaka places, with the name of the place and the name given to Gaṇeśa in that place printed beneath each image. The images are not arranged to correspond to the relative locations of the places - nor do they seem to be arranged according to any particular principle at all. In fact, the Gaṇeśa images have different positions in different versions of the holy picture. The Aṣṭavināyaka "photo", then, cannot be called a map, not even a stylized map, of the Aṣṭavināyaka places or their region.

Like a map, though, the "photo" does represent the Aṣṭavināyaka as a group, and it therefore also represents as a whole the region throughout which they are distributed. It serves as a reminder, to family members and to visitors in the many households in which it is displayed, of where they are and what that "where" includes. It fosters in people of the Pune region, whether they have visited the Aṣṭavināyaka or only heard of them, an awareness of how their world holds together. And, when the many people who place the Aṣṭavināyaka image in or near their household shrines perform *pūjā* to the image, they worship the whole set of Gaṇapatis at once. To the extent that the Aṣṭavināyaka represent the region in which they are found, such people's *pūjā* of the Aṣṭavināyaka image also, at the same time, pays homage to the region.

Akrā Mārutī

Analogous to the Aṣṭavināyaka but not nearly as popular is a set of places called the Akrā Mārutī. These eleven Mārutī places cluster in Satara, Sangli, and Kolhapur Districts. The Akrā Mārutī are supposed to have been founded by Rāmdās (1608-1681), the strong, ascetic, Brāhmaṇa *guru* figure associated in popular historiography with the Marāṭhā ruler and military leader Śivājī. Rāmdās is understood to have established all eleven places within a single decade in the mid-17th century.

According to a Marathi religious pamphlet about the eleven Mārūtīs (Kalgavkar 1973:4), Rāmdās established them in order to "awaken" (*jāgrti karanen*) the area in which they are found - that is, in order to lend religious legitimation to the Marāṭhā kingdom and religious enthusiasm to the Marāṭhā armies' opposition to Muslim rule. Whatever the historical accuracy of this claim for the 17th century, it is at the very least clear that the 17th century region exists for the 20th century author of this pamphlet. As a god of strength, Mārūtī is particularly appropriate to inspire a heroic, politically mobilized, even militaristic attitude. This, at any rate, is the motivation that modern interpreters ascribe to Rāmdās in accounts of his founding of the Akrā Mārūtī. Harshe (1995), for example, explains: "By getting people to worship Mārūtī, (Rāmdās) created among them resolve, virility, and competition with respect to gaining strength." The editor of the Rāmdāsī magazine *Sajjangaḍ* is even more explicit (Chincholkar 1995:7): "As he wandered around India, Samartha Rāmdās had a chance to see the disastrously weak and fragmented state of Hindu society. His principal intention was to make Hindu society integrated and strong by establishing, in place after place, temples of Mārūtī, who is the embodiment of integration and strengthening."

In my visits to the eleven Mārūtīs, I found no evidence that they attract pilgrims in significant numbers. However, I did see some evidence that they are beginning to do so. The Brahman ascetic saint Rāmdās seems to be achieving increasing prominence as a model and patron of middle-class, Brahman-led, politicized Hinduism of the style associated with the BJP. Increasingly he is becoming the patron saint of that party in Maharashtra, as his disciple Śivājī has become the patron saint of the Shiv Sena. In these circumstances, it is quite possible that the obscure, neglected set of Akrā Mārūtī places will achieve greater prominence and popularity both as pilgrimage sites and as a collective image of a regional (or even national) Hindu community.

4. The Seven Sisters

My final example of a regionally significant religious image is the sisterhood of geographically separated goddesses. This image constitutes an extremely effective way of expressing both the separation of places and the ties that bind them together. It is a very good way of thinking about a region. Sets of sister goddesses, most often seven in number, are found throughout South Asia,⁴ with enormous variation as to which goddesses, from which places, are included in the sets. In Maharashtra, saying that goddesses are one another's sisters is perhaps the most common way of relating them to one another. In some cases, the goddesses who are said to be related as sisters are found together - Lakṣmīāī, for instance, or the Seven Āsarā. But goddesses also get grouped in another form of sisterhood, one that is more significant for understanding regions. In this form of sisterhood, goddesses located at

different places are understood to be one another's sisters.

What does it mean to say that goddesses in different locations are one another's sisters? The 1961 Census volume *Fairs and Festivals in Maharashtra* (1969:78) presents a relatively elaborate story that I think can give us a clue:

Seven sisters by name (i) Mahalakshmi, (ii) Mahakali, (iii) Vajrabai, (iv) Gangadevi, (v) Renuka, (vi) Kalika and (vii) Gauri Sarasvati are said to have started from Kolhapur about 7 to 8 generations back and (gone) to different places. Vajrabai went to Vajreshwari in Bhivandi Taluka of Thana district, Gangadevi went to a village in Umbergaon Taluka in Surat district (Gujarat State), Renuka went to Wani village in Kolaba district, Kalika went to Pawagad in Gujarat and Gauri Sarasvati and Mahakali remained with their sister Mahalakshmi at Viwalwedhe.

The story as the Census volume narrates it, does not state the reason for the sisters' journey. Generally, however, and quite likely in this case as well, the idea that goddesses located in different places are one another's sisters implies that they are married women who have left their common maternal home (*māher*) to live in their respective in-laws' houses (*sāsar*). A woman who lives next-door to the Lakṣmīāi at the side of the road in Rahuri made this point more explicit. After telling me that that particular Lakṣmīāi has an elder sister with a big festival at a place to the west of Rahuri, the woman explained: just as "among us, one sister is given in marriage in this place, another sister is given in that place," so the goddesses have their places (*thāne*) "here and there."

Just as women, by marrying, link their parental homes and villages to the in-laws' homes and villages that they move into, so do these goddesses, by being sisters and by living in a variety of places, link those places by virtue of their implied common childhood. To say that the goddesses of *different* places are one another's sisters is to imply that they have travelled to their present locations from a common parental home. Each of the goddesses, that is, has at some point, as a bride, left that common home and come to live in her in-laws' place. The intensity of the married sisters' ties to one another derives in part from their long separations and the infrequency of their meetings, but its basis is the companionship, the shared fun and love, of their life together before marriage, in their *māher*. When goddesses located in a single place are called one another's sisters, the implication is that the place *is* their *māher*, and they are presumably unmarried girls. The imagery that calls goddesses of *different* locations one another's sisters portrays the goddesses as adult women, not as children; but the basis of their connection with one another is their shared childhood in their parental home.

At Karad, where the Kṛṣṇā and Koynā rivers come rushing directly toward each other and then turn aside, their confluence (*saṅgam*), which forms a perfect "T", is called "Pṛīṭisaṅgam", "Love Saṅgam." Some outsiders to Karad think that the term "Pṛīṭisaṅgam" refers to the union of two lovers, one of whom is male and the other female. Citizens of Karad, however, know that the Kṛṣṇā and the Koynā are one another's sisters. A song that the recording artist Lata Mangeshkar made popular relates the Pṛīṭisaṅgam to the love of married sisters for one another and for their maternal home. Images of the Koynā and the Kṛṣṇā in separate temples - located, respectively, upstream and downstream from the confluence - represent the two rivers as women, each with her neck bent at an unusual angle. People in Karad explain the images as those of the two sisters, Kṛṣṇā and Koynā, each peering toward their meeting place and waiting expectantly for the other to arrive. Goddesses who are not rivers do not physically flow together, but their sisterhood nevertheless implies a strong emotional pull toward one another and toward their common parental home.

The sisterhood of goddesses located in different places, then, presents an emotionally powerful image of a region. The sisters, separated from one another by the demands of virilocal marriage, are linked by bonds of memory and longing. The places, too, though separated by the facts of geographical extension, come together in a poignant unity when people understand the goddesses who reside in them to be sisters. Separate location combined with emotional connection characterizes, after all, not only adult, married sisterhood but also a region. A region involves both separation and unity of places. In a region, places that are distinct from one another - places that are not the same place and not *in* the same place - are nevertheless brought together and sensed to belong together. The area within which they come together, the area throughout which they are scattered, is a region. Although the places are not identical, and also *because* they are not identical, they are nevertheless connected.

Conclusion

The many regions I have identified here overlap, criss-cross and exclude one another, becoming salient in different religious contexts. The complexity of the picture, the vast number of religiously sanctioned but by-and-large mutually oblivious regions that fill up and spill out of the area now known as Maharashtra, would be enhanced even further were we to take into account Maharashtra's non-Hindu religious-geographical and pilgrimage traditions - something that I have not attempted in this talk. Almost all of the regions I have talked about are found within more or less the area of the modern state of Maharashtra. However, only a few of them get identified as "Maharashtra". Often the regions have names other than "Maharashtra", or they have no

name at all.

What, then, is Maharashtra? In one sense, you might conclude that Maharashtra is a network of overlapping regions that interweave to form a richly textured whole. And yet, I hesitate to affirm that the regions I have studied form a "network" or are "interwoven" in the sense that any person or group makes significant connections among them. For the regions are, by-and-large, mutually oblivious. They coexist, next to one another or superimposed on one another, without any person or group of people necessarily connecting them in their minds. When different regions overlap in a single area, one region becomes important in one context, and another region in another context.

Thus, there are many religiously-defined, meaningful regions that coexist within or overlap with the one that happened to become the state of Maharashtra. The fact that the region defined by the Vārkarī pilgrimage became a political unit is the exception that proves the rule. Through their large number, great variety, and lack of systematic order, the many religiously sanctioned regions of Maharashtra illustrate the vast array of possibilities from among which the political and administrative units of modern India have been chosen. But the many religiously meaningful regions of Maharashtra also inspire hope, both for the rest of India and for other fragile, fissiparous areas of the contemporary world. For these regions show that people can experience, imagine, conceptualize, and value a region in religious terms without feeling the need to make it into a politically separate entity.

Notes and References

1. Many of the thoughts, words, and sentences in this article will soon appear in my forthcoming book, *Connected Places: Region, Pilgrimage, and Religious Imagination in India* (New York: Palgrave-Macmillan, scheduled for 2003). I am grateful to the Asiatic Society of Mumbai for the chance to try out these ideas in the form of a lecture, and to several members of the audience for their extremely helpful comments.
2. My thinking about place and region has been formed by the works of many authors, but especially by Feld and Basso 1996, Stein 1977, and Casey (including 1993 and 1996).
3. Some of the villages along this river have names that connect them with this story. The place where the sage ran out of *be!* leaves for worshipping the Śivalingas is called Belsar ("sar" comes from the verb "*sarane*," "to give out," "to be expended"). As Arjuna and Nakula came close to Pāṇḍeśvar, they heard Yudhiṣṭhira calling out impatiently, "Arjuna! Where are you?" - "I'm nearby (*java!*)" Arjuna replied. And thus the place that Arjuna had reached by then is now a village called Javaḷārjun-the village just upstream from Pāṇḍeśvar.

4. Erndl 1993:37-60; Whitehead 1921:29,32,39; Elmore 1913:12. The seven sisters discussed by Whitehead and Elmore appear to be the kind that are found together, whereas those Erndl discusses are geographically dispersed.

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Bharata's Dhruvās : Restored

V. M. Kulkarni

The Thirty Second Chapter of Bharata's *Nāṭya-Śāstra* (NS) deals with *dhruvās*. Shri J. S. Pade, who was entrusted with the editorial work of the *Nāṭya-Śāstra*, Vol. IV, after the passing away of Śrī M. R. Kavi, observes in his introduction: "It is inexplicable why the late editor, Śrī Kavi, has not recorded any variants so far as the *dhruvās* are concerned." Shri Pade, however, kindly draws the attention of readers to M. Ghosh's article in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. VIII, 1932, wherein he has presented the critically edited text of the *dhruvās* with an introduction and the notes. This paper is indeed admirable. He has marked out with asterisks over a dozen *dhruvās* which are beyond restoration. Taking the text of the *dhruvās* as presented in the GOS edition as the basis, this paper makes an earnest attempt to restore about a dozen of *dhruvās*. Before taking up this work of restoration, it would not be out of place to give, in brief, information about the nature-characteristics of *dhruvās*.

1. The meaning of Dhruvā - *Dhruvā* means both the refrain of a song and a song which is accompanied by a refrain. There are several kinds of *dhruvās*. Five kinds of *dhruvās* are, however, mostly used by playwrights. Hence, they alone are defined and illustrated with examples by later authorities.

2. The occasions for Dhruvās - There are five occasions : 1. *Praveśa*, 2. *Ākṣepa*, 3. *Niṣkrāma*, 4. *Prāsādika*, and 5. *Āntara*. According to Abhinavagupta (Abhinava), the *praveśagāna* (*Prāveśikī dhruvā*) is a song sung at the time of entry of a character describing his mental mood, physical attitude, condition, etc., *Ākṣepagāna* (*Ākṣepikī dhruvā*) is a song sung to accompany the transition from one emotion to another. *Niṣkrāmagāna* (*Naiṣkrāmikī dhruvā*) is a song sung at the time of exit of a character from the stage. *Prasādagāna* (*Prāsādikī dhruvā*) is a song sung after the character's entry on the stage, in order to convey his mental condition to the spectators. *Āntaragāna* (*Āntarikī dhruvā*) is a song sung when the character is moving about on the stage; the occasions on which the *āntarikī* or *āntara dhruvā* is to be sung are : "When the character is gloomy or in a state of swoon or is totally confused or busy in adjusting his clothes or garments or ornaments, slipped away from their proper place; in other words, this song is used for concealing faults.

3. The language of the Dhruvās - The language of the *dhruvās* should be Śauraseni (Prakrit).

It may be noted that in one recension of Kālidāsa's *Vikramorvaśīya*, the Apabhramśa language is used for the *dhruvās*.

4. The form of *Dhruvās* - A careful look at the examples of various *dhruvās* given by Bharata and later rhetoricians reveals that they are based on *aupamya* (similarity) and that they illustrate one of the five kinds of the figure *Aprastuta-praśamsā* (irrelevant or indirect description). This kind or type is (popularly) better known as *Anyokti*.

5. Prayogānaṅgatva - Abhinava in his commentary on Bharata's *Dhruvādhyāya* (Ch. XXXII, p. 293) expressly mentions that the *dhruvās* are outside the dramatic representation. That is, neither the hero nor any other character on the stage sings the *dhruvā* songs. They are meant to be sung on various occasions by someone from behind the curtain-behind the scenes - to the accompaniment of music (and dance) in order to create the appropriate atmosphere and heighten the particular *rasa* being evoked among the spectators by the actors on the stage.

6. Bharata on the importance of *Dhruvās* - The playwright (and the producer) should use the *dhruvās* which are necessary for dance and drama at the appropriate places. Bharata adds : Just as a picture without *varṇa* (colours) has no beauty, so also a drama without songs has no charm. *Dhruvās*, which are employed on appropriate occasions and are suited to develop the *rasas*, illuminate the drama just as the stars do the sky. The dramatist should give priority for songs. For the songs are called the very bed (rock)-*śayyā* - the support of *nāṭya*.

Now, we turn to the main topic of Bharata's *Dhruvās* : Restoration.

The text of some of the *dhruvās* and their Sanskrit *chāyā*, as presented in the GOS edition, needs to be restored or reconstructed. By way of illustration we treat here below ten to twelve *dhruvās* :

- 1) P. 309, V. No. 66 : एदे गज्जन्ता लोयं छादन्ता तोयं मुञ्चन्ता संपत्ता मेहा ॥
[एते गर्जन्ता लोकं छादयन्तस्तोयं मुञ्चन्ताः संप्राप्ता मेघाः]
- 2) P. 310, V. No. 70 : पवणाहदो सलिलघणो भमइ णहे अहियसमो ॥
[पवनहतः सलिलघनो भ्रमति/भ्राम्यति नभस्यहितसमः ॥]
- 3) P. 310, V. No. 74 : बलाहएहिं पगज्जिदेहिं णहं समन्ता परुण्णअं व ॥
[बलाहकैः प्रगर्जितैर्नभः समन्ताद् प्ररुदितमिव ॥]
- 4) P. 311, V. No. 87 : गज्जन्ते जलदा णच्चन्ते सिहिणो गायन्ते भमरा रम्मे पाउसए ॥
(गर्जन्ते जलदा नृत्यन्ति शिखिनो गायन्ति भ्रमरा रम्ये प्रावृषि ॥]
- 5) P. 313, V. No. 95 : साहसु सग्भावं किंसि पिए कुद्धा ।
मा चिरसंबद्धं पेच्छसि सग्भावं ॥

[कथय सद्भावं किमसि प्रिये कृद्धा ।
मा चिरसम्बद्धं प्रेक्षसे सद्भावम् ॥]

- 6) P. 313, V. No. 98 : एसा हंसवहू विद्धा काणणए कन्तं संगमिउं गन्तुं उस्सुइआ ॥
[एषा हंसवधूर्विद्धा कानने कान्तं संगन्तुमुत्सुकिता ॥]
- 7) P. 315, V. No. 109 : हंसागमणधीरं कासंसुअविचित्तं ।
एदं सरदकाले रम्मं सरसि तोयं ॥
[हंसागमनधीरं काशांशुकविचित्रम् ।
एतच्चारत्काले रम्यं सरसि तोयम् ॥]
- 8) P. 316, V. No.117 : जलधरसंभन्तो खिदिधरमूलम्मि ।
सहयरिसंजुतो पविचरिदो हत्थी ॥
[जलधरसंभ्रान्तः क्षितिधरमूले ।
सहचरीसंयुक्तः प्रविचरितो हस्ती ॥]
- 9) P. 317, V. No.123 : गइन्दतोयखोहा पडी-परित्त (?) हंसा ।
भमन्तचक्कवाया नदी गदा समुदं ॥
[गजेन्द्रतोयक्षोभा पटी-परीत(=व्याप्त) ? हंसा (?) ।
भ्रमच्चक्रवाका नदी गता समुद्रम् ॥]
- 10) P. 319, V. No.138 : पुलिणतलंगणए कमलणिवासणिआ ।
पियदमवासिगिहं पयरदि सारसिआ ॥
[पुलिनतलारूपे कमलनिवासिनी ।
प्रियतमवासगृहं प्रचरति सारसिका ॥]
- 11) P. 320, V. No.143 : राहूपराय हद/हिद-सोहं चंदंणिसमिऊण ।
तारागणो विहद-विहिद-सोहो तेजोसुएहि रुददि व्व ॥
[राहूपराग हत-/हत शोभं चन्द्रं निशाम्य (= समीक्ष्य) ।
तारागणो विहत-/विहत-शोभस्तेजोशुभी रुदतीव ॥]
- 12) P. 325, V. No.164 : एसो मेहो णा णदंतो अचलणिहो ।
सद्दारंतो विज्जुज्जोआ (? विज्जुज्जुत्तो) भमदि दुदं ॥
[एष मेघो ना नदन् अचलनिभः ।
संदारयन् विद्युत्-युक्तो भ्रमति/भ्राम्यति द्रुतम् ॥]

Notes and References

[Symbol B stands for Baroda (now Vadodara) edition of *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharatamuni with the commentary *Abhinavabhāratī* by Abhinavagupta, Vol. IV. Oriental Institute, Baroda, 1964. And Symbol G for "*Prakrit Verses in the Bharata Nāṭyaśāstra*", critically edited with an Introduction and Notes by Śrī Manomohan Ghosh and published in the Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. VIII, 1932.]

1. The verse reads मेहा गज्जन्ता --- संपत्ता मेहा ॥ This involves the fault of tautology. If the verse were to open with the phrase 'एदे गज्जन्ता' like 'एदे गज्जमाणा' in NS V.No. 93 in the same chapter, it would not be open to this fault.

2. B reads the verse as पवनहदो --- उवकमसो ॥ Instead of पवन (in Prakrit) we should read पवण. The word 'उवकमसो' hardly suits the context. The reading 'अहियसमो' recorded in G (p. 21, f.n.to v. no. VI) eminently suits the context of a 'प्रेषितपत्निका' a lady whose husband is on a journey and the advent of monsoon-rainy season is bound to delay his homeward journey.
3. The Prakrit word परुण in the verse is rendered in the Sanskrit-*chāyā* as 'पूर्ण' which is grammatically incorrect. The correct rendering would be 'प्ररुदित'. See Hemacandra's Prakrit Grammar : रुदिते दिना णः । 8-1-209 and वृत्ति on it : रुदिते दिना सह तस्य द्विरुक्तो णो भवति रुणं ॥
4. B reads गज्जन्तो. The form गज्जन्ते, however is to be preferred as it contributes to beauty arising from the symmetry: गज्जन्ते...णचन्ते...गायन्ते ।
5. The readings in B and G are very different. Ghosh observes, "This couplet is beyond restoration (p. 23, notes to v. no. XVIII). With slight readjustment the text (in B) becomes 'meaningful' as done above.
साहसु सन्भावं किं सि पिए कुद्धा ।
[कथय सद्भावं किमसि प्रिये कुद्धा ।]
Tr. "Tell me, tell me the truth (what offence have I given to you) O My dear!
Why are you angry (with me)?
√साह is one of the ten roots in Prakrit which are optionally used for the root √कथ्. See Hemacandra's Prakrit Grammar VIII. 4.2. and वृत्ति on it : कथेर्घातोर्वज्जरादयो दशादेशा भवन्ति ।
6. The three readings 1. एषा 2. कान्तं and 3. उत्सहिआ in the Prakrit text are obviously wrong. We must read in their place एसा, कन्तं and उत्सुइआ respectively. We have this (3) correct reading उत्सुइया in G (p. 23, v. no. XIX). The reading काणणए (in G) seems to be preferable to काणणदो (In B). The reading संगहुवा is obviously wrong. It is *tentatively* emended to संगमितं.
7. We must read the text in (B) to हंसागमणधीरं कांससुअविचित्तं । (हंसागमनधीरं काशांशुकविवित्रम्).
9. B reads गइंदतोअखोआ पटीपरित्थहंसा ।
We must correct खोआ to खोहा; and पटीपरित्थ to पडी-परित्त - this emendation is very *tentative*.
10. B reads in the second half : 'प्रजवं हि वासगिहं'. The reading 'पियदमवासगिहं' (G - p. 27, v. no. XXXIX) is preferable.
11. B reads : चंदं णहिण्ण समिऊण ।' [चन्द्रं नभसि समीक्ष्य] G reads : 'चंदं णिसमिऊण' (p. 27, v. no. XLI)
12. Vadodara edn. reads the second half very differently :
जावाबद्धो भीमुव्विगो (हत्थिणिहो)
विण्णाकआविज्झो (विद्दुद्दण्णो) पीणाअन्तो णादिगओ ॥
[जालाबद्धो भीमविग्रहो हस्तिनिभो
विद्युद्वर्णः पीनान्तो नातिगतः ॥]
Some of these readings are incorrect and their Sanskrit renderings too. In the corrected text we have adopted the reading सदरंतो from the next verse (no. 164). The rest of the corrected text is taken from Dr. Unni's edition (Vol. III.,

v. no. 167, pp. 921-922) - excepting the reading 'आवादिदो', which is a misprint for 'आवदिदो'.

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Indramahotsava In the Late Vedic and Early Epic Traditions

Natalia Lidova

Indramahotsava, the Indra festival, had many names - among them the *Dhvajamaha*, Great Banner festival; *Indradhvaja*, Indra's Banner festival; and *Mahendravigyotsava*, Great Indra's Victory festival. References to it in many Indian texts testify to its comparative popularity in various eras.

Arranged by the king, the festival involved the entire community, and gathered large congregations. The diverse rituals in its basis were linked to a tree which was selected in the wood, felled, brought to the village and exalted in a ceremony. The exaltation of the tree, or Indra's banner, was the crux of the festival and nucleus of fairly complicated rites.

The festivity attracted scholarly attention on a number of occasions. Several works dedicated to it offer different interpretations of its religious content. Thus, J. J. Meyer regarded the Indra tree, exalted at the festival, as solar symbol of fertility called to bring affluence to the community now and in the future.¹

In an essay on the topic, J. Gonda regards the festival as an Indian analogue of the Maypole or Midsummer (Johannis, St. John's Day) festivities, widespread in Europe². As he pointed out, the festival was no mere seasonal ritual and tree cult version but a ritual aimed to confirm the king's invincibility.

The theme was prominent in F. B. J. Kuiper's studies. Unlike his predecessors, Kuiper was interested not so much in the social as in the religious and mythological aspect of the festival. He discerned its root in the so-called basic Vedic myth, to which the *Rgveda* refers more than once. It narrates Indra's victory over his enemy Vr̥tra. As Kuiper emphasised, "the character of the *Indradhvaja*, connected as it was with a very definite cosmogonical myth, was so specific that by subsuming it under the general heading of 'tree worship' one runs the risk of missing the point."³

Kuiper offered an explication of the Indra tree which proceeded from his concept. He made much more precise its previous interpretation as tree of fertility and prosperity to explain both as particular manifestations of a more general symbolism of the cosmic tree and the universal pillar. Due to its cosmogonic origin, it came out as symbol of life and guarantee of

universal order.

As Kuiper saw it, the festival was held at the meeting point of the old year and the new⁴, at the end of the shortest cosmic cycle, when the opposition of Cosmos to Chaos was starting as at the dawn of Creation. That time actualised Indra's preternatural demiurgic role as he exalted the universal pillar to divide heaven and earth and so start the existence and further evolution of Cosmos. A seasonal god, according to Kuiper, Indra became a crucial figure at the watershed of the years to occupy the centre of the Universe. Such was the ritual basis of the festival in which the tree identified with him was exalted and worshipped.

Significantly, Kuiper's interest in the Vedic festival of Indra was not a value in itself to the scholar. It was closely linked with the solution of a far more extensive problem which had by his time been haunting the minds of the world's foremost Indologists for close on a hundred years. That was the genesis of the Sanskrit drama. An overwhelming majority of his predecessors were seeking testimony of its appearance in Vedic texts, Kuiper deemed it possible to turn to a certainly non-Vedic source, the *Nāṭyaśāstra* (*NS*) - the oldest and the most reliable of all extant writings on the theory and practice of the Indian theatre.⁵

Kuiper took in full seriousness a myth related in the opening chapter of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, which tells of the first drama on earth performed for the deities at Indra's Banner festival. Once upon a time, at the border of the *Kṛtayuga* and the *Tretāyuga*, the Gold and Silver Ages, the world was deprived beyond all hope. People became victims of lust and covetousness and were engaged in rustic rites and activities. Led by Indra the gods appealed to Brahmā to invent a new pastime that shall simultaneously be visible and audible, and which, they expected, could set the world right. Brahmā lent a merciful ear to their request and created dramatic art, the *Nāṭyaveda*, to pass knowledge of it to the wise Bharata, who, in his turn, taught the new game to his hundred sons. That was when the question arose how the new theory was to be implemented in practice. Bharata asked Brahmā about it. "A grand occasion for a performance is coming near - Mahendra's Great Banner (festival) is beginning. The Veda that is in the *Nāṭya* shall be presented then and there", was the reply (*NS* 1.54-55).

Proceeding from that point to draw on a sizeable number of other ritual and mythological references in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, Kuiper ventured to demonstrate that the first-ever drama was not performed during the Indra festival on mere occasion. As he saw it, the drama was genetically linked to the festival, being from the start "a ritual re-enactment of creation, consisting of an imitation of Indra's victory over the *asuras*"⁶. In other words, Kuiper attempted to show that the oldest drama was a stage version of the basic Vedic myth which,

in its turn, provided a mythological substantiation of the Indra festival itself.

Kuiper's logic appears irreproachable, at first sight. Really, as the *Nāṭyaśāstra* has it, the first drama was performed not merely at an Indra festival but in honour of his victory over the demons. More than that, it recreated the scene of god's victory over the *asuras*. With a precise heading absent, Kuiper regarded it as pointing at a version of the basic Vedic myth.

The *Nāṭyaśāstra*, however, gives no grounds for a conclusion so unambiguous - we have to acknowledge that. Kuiper, rather, arrived at it by analogy, proceeding from Indra's status in a legend in the initial chapter of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. In fact, it relates another exploit of that god. This is what the *Nāṭyaśāstra* has to say: the demons were insulted by a public performance recreating their rout and death. To stop it, they recur to *māyā*, magical power, to paralyse the speech, movement and memory of the players. Seeing the reason why they stand dumbfounded, Indra the king of gods snatches his divine banner staff, the *dhvaja*, or *jarjara* (literally, "piercing") to smite the demons with it. They vanish, and the jubilant gods congratulate Indra on acquiring a weapon which will protect the *Nāṭya* from now on (*NS* 1.64-74).

Thus, as the *Nāṭyaśāstra* myth has it, Indra re-enacts his demon-fighting exploit, first made in the times immemorial of Creation. That point is fully in keeping with the sublime content of his festival, and presents him in the hypostasis of king of gods, protector of the heavenly host from demonic attacks, which was characteristic of him in the Vedic mythology. Those reminiscences from the Vedic cult were evident enough, as Kuiper saw them, to leave no doubt of the Vedic origin of the drama and the myth in the opening chapter of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, which narrated it.

However, Kuiper failed to notice certain things which, taken together, allow us to put to doubt the thesis of the Vedas as sole origin of the theatrical tradition and his interpretation of the Indra festival. Strictly speaking, if we proceed from the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, we cannot either prove or disprove the Vedic roots of the myth which provided the subject-matter of the first legendary drama. What we have is only general characteristics of that mythological idea. As the *Nāṭyaśāstra* has it, the drama revolved round the war of gods and demons, the former vanquishing the latter. A feeling arises that what we have here is not so much a particular myth as an archetypal pattern of confrontation between two clans. The pattern had an universal scope, and gave rise not only to Vedic but an overwhelming majority of the later epic myths. It retained its entire topicality in the post-Vedic time, as well. So, if we proceed from it, we cannot make whatever conclusions on the content of the myth which was acted out in that instance.⁷

More than that, even in the conventionalised chronology of the first chapter

of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, the Indra's Banner festival emerged not simultaneously with the drama – which would be natural if the same pattern of the Vedic cosmogonical myth lay at the foundation of both the drama and the festival. As the *Nāṭyaśāstra* has it, the festival existed before the drama and independently of it. Even its choice was partly incidental. Brahmā viewed it merely as convenient pretext: the Indra festival was to make all gods get together to be acquainted with dramatic art, recently created by Brahmā. Though we ought not to overestimate that point, it gives us sufficient reason to doubt, however, that the drama was intrinsic in the festival arrangements from the start. More probably, it was introduced at a latter stage when the basic ritual of the Indra festival had taken final shape and became firmly established.

The latter assumption can easily be verified as we possess descriptions of the celebration in the various eras. The *Kausikasūtra* (*KS*) (140.1-22) offers one of the detailed descriptions of the Indra festival, the way it was in the Vedic era⁸, while an account of its celebration in the epic time can be found in the first book of the *Mahābhārata* (*Mbh*) (1.57.17-22)⁹, and a number of later sources, among them the *Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa* (*VDhP*).

Let us first regard the Vedic version of the festival as the *Kausikasūtra* presents it. Even at the beginning of the section on the event, the *sūtra* refers to it as a great festival in Indra's honour, whose celebration ought to be guided by kings (*KS*. 140.1). The *sūtra* omits practical technicalities of the choice and delivery of the tree - its authors might be more interested in the ritual aspects of the celebration, which are presented in sufficient detail.

The description of the ritual in the *Kausikasūtra* opens with solemn ceremonies of the eighth day since the tree is brought to the spot in which it will be exalted. The exaltation is scheduled for a certain day on the lunar calendar - the 12th of the light half of the month of *Prausthapada*¹⁰ or in the month of *Aśvayuja*¹¹, a day influenced by the *nakṣatra Śravaṇa*¹² (*KS*. 140.2-3). Once everything necessary for the ritual has been provided, the king and his household priest - *purohita*¹³, made an ablution, put on new, never laundered robes, anointed themselves with fragrances, and started preparations for the ritual, which included a fast (*KS*. 140-4).

The next day began with another ritual, in which the king and the priest drank water in small gulps to purify themselves on a rite repeated six times to the accompaniment of incantations which extolled the boons of divine waters (*KS*. 140.5). Next came the *yajña* ritual, in which clarified butter was poured on flames to the chant of related *mantras* which praised Indra in supplication for might and power (*KS*. 140-6).

Following a detailed description of those ceremonies, the *Kausikasūtra* laconically says: "They set up *Indra*" (*KS*. 140-7). To all appearances, the

point referred to the exaltation of the ritual tree. In its striking contrast to the entire detailed text, this laconicism, most probably, proceeded from an exceptionally sacral quality of the rite, and its partial taboo.

Once the Indra tree is exalted, the priest again addresses it with incantations calling to support heaven and earth, all the worlds, all living things, mountains and, last but not least, the ruler of that particular country (*KS.* 140-8). The king's subjects were addressed at the same time with a call to share the wish and display by that their reverence of royal power and the king in person.

Next, says the *sūtra*, followed a miraculous demonstration to the congregation. It was, most often, the *vimāna* - a self-propelled divine chariot-which could fly and came as materialised expression of the supernatural heavenly energy (*KS.* 140.9).

Next followed the recitation of three hymns from the *Atharvaveda* (6. 97-99). A rite was performed simultaneously to bring health and fertility of cows. Another Indra worship followed. The *Kausikasūtra* is laconic here. However, as J. Gonda has proved, practical action of that rite can be reconstructed proceeding from commentaries to the *Atharvaveda*, which say that the three hymns are chanted at the Indra festival when a cow or bull is being sacrificed, and the *yajña* ritual is performed in full as the *homa* sacrifice (*KS.* 140.10-12)¹⁴.

As the *Kausikasūtra* points out, those lengthy solemn ceremonies were performed by the *purohita* and the king alone. The number of persons immediately involved in the ritual spectacularly extended after them. Among those joining in were the king's retainers who had come through the *dīkṣā*-initiation for the occasion. Thus prepared, they were to worship Indra thrice, for a day every time, later to make several oil libations on flames. *Atharvaveda* hymns to Indra were again recited during the rite (*KS.* 140.13-17).

Those people had no right to make the final libation - the most solemn and awesome of all, stresses the *Kausikasūtra*. Known as the *samsthītahoma*¹⁵, it symbolically crowned the entire ritual (*KS.* 140-18). The honour of that particular *homa* belonged to the *purohita* priest, as we can gather from the context.¹⁶ The ritual was considered finished after that libation was made according to all rules, and the religious part of the festival was over to be followed only by a sequence of compulsory ritual ablutions. Undergoing them were not only the participants but the tree - Indra's visible symbol and representation during the rites. Incantations pertaining to the ablution were read at the time. The entire congregation next came to the riverbank to drown the tree in the water and returned, never looking back, to the ritual site, where the brahmins partook of sacrificial viands distributed between them

(KS. 140.19-21).

As we can easily notice, the detailed account of the festival in the *Kausikasūtra* never says a word about the drama or whatever stage performance. Scenic representation of a cosmogonic myth which gave birth to the festival was a religious event of tremendous importance. Evidently, the *sūtra* could not pass it in silence. Most probably, its omission means that no drama was played in the Vedic festival of Indra. The *Kausikasūtra* is perfectly representative in that sense as a drama is never mentioned in any texts of the Vedic era dedicated to this particular festival.

Let us now turn to the description of another version of the same festival - this time, not from the late Vedic era but the early epic. It came down to us in the first book of the *Mahābhārata* (I. 57.17-22). As the tradition quoted here has it, once upon a time there lived a King, Uparicara by name, surnamed Vasu. Under Indra's protection, he conquered the rich and affluent land of Cedis, after which he gave up arms to lead the life of woodland hermit. Indra appeared to him one day and, partly in reward and partly in temptation, offered three gifts to the king of the Cedis. A first was the *vimāna*, a wondrous crystal chariot flying of itself. A flower garland *Vaijayantī* which made the king invulnerable in battle was the second. A bamboo staff was a third gift.

The narration that follows concerns the latter - at first sight, the least valuable of the gifts. A year passed, and the king stuck the staff into the ground for a *pūjā* in Indra's honour.¹⁷ The staff was worshipped the day before its exaltation. As the *Mahābhārata* has it, the staff was adorned with gorgeous fabrics and flower garlands, and anointed with fragrances. Once exalted, it was encircled with garlands (*mālyadāmaparikṣiptā*) (*Mbh.* I.57.20). Śiva worship followed at the next stage of the ritual with another *pūjā* (*Mbh.* I.57.21).

Seeing King Vasu Uparicara worshipping his gift, the pole, an overjoyed Indra promised luck and victories to the kings and other men who would make the celebrations in his honour, following the example of King Vasu, and perform the *pūjā* in his honour. Indra's benevolence would spread to their realms, whose population would be happy and well-off, and those who arranged the festivities would be clean of all sin.

As the legend has it, King Vasu's staff decoration and exaltation, and the *pūjā* worship, gave rise to the Indra festival. According to the *Mahābhārata*, it is performed by the best of kings to this day.

The *Mahābhārata* legend does not say a word, either, about stage performances during the festival, though a drama is mentioned in the later monuments pertaining to the same tradition. As one of them, the

Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa has it (ll. 154-157), a drama was performed at the Indra festival immediately following the *pūjā*. The source refers to the drama as *prekṣa*, usual term for scenic action in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* (*VDhP.* ll.155.17)¹⁸. Most probably, the exaltation of Indra's banner also had a scenic quality. Music and dancing necessarily accompanied its worship, says the *Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa* (ll.155.21).¹⁹

Like the *Mahābhārata*, the *Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa* prescribes the *pūjā* performed in honour of the exalted divine banner (*VDhP.* ll.154.17)²⁰. It also demands another *pūjā* to worship Viṣṇu - which is natural with consideration for the Viṣṇuite nature of this monument (*VDhP.* ll.155-21)²¹. Among other things it testifies to is the general religious content of the Indra festival spectacularly changing at a certain stage. Its dedication to Indra alone, as in the Vedic times, was replaced by worshipping two gods or more. As the *Mahābhārata* has it (l. 57.21)²² Śiva might be another - or Viṣṇu in another confessional milieu.

The *Mahābhārata* tradition speaks of the inception of the Indra festival - a fact which has never attracted scholarly attention. The tradition is arranged in such a way as to hint that the festival was non-existent before, and it had not merely to relate its story but substantiate its origin - the reason why the legend is cited. On the one hand, this contradicts historical data as the Indra festival had been certainly celebrated before the *Mahābhārata* myth emerged. On the other hand, the *Mahābhārata* legend really describes a new festival, in which a small and light bamboo staff is exalted instead of a big and heavy tree. The parts of the festival and their ritual substantiations also change. Last but not least, a *pūjā* is performed instead of the *yajña*, a rite prescribed by the Vedic texts.

To see the principled importance of a reference to the *pūjā* in this particular instance, we ought to turn to a more general matter, which is linked to changes in the ancient Indian ritualism of the mid-1st millennium BCE. Another name of a ritual would not matter in itself if the *yajña* and the *pūjā* were synonyms used on equal terms in the context of the Vedic worship - but they are far from synonymic, as Sanskrit sources show, however. More than that, the Vedic tradition not merely did not use the term *pūjā* to define its religious practice but did not know whatever rituals named such. In other words, that type of adoration was totally untopical in the Vedic-Brahmanic ritual system. Consequently, a *pūjā* description is not to be found in any ritual monument of the Vedic era despite a desire to fix ritual practices, so characteristic of Vedic culture.

Now, as the *Nāṭyaśāstra* has it, none other than the *pūjā* ritual was related to the inception of the scenic tradition. As Brahmā had it in his divine arrangements, a *pūjā* was to precede every performance. "Either the stage

or the dramatic performance should not be held without *pūjā*. And he who will hold the stage and the dramatic performance without *pūjā* will find his knowledge useless and he will come to a bad rebirth <....> If he does perform *pūjā* in accordance with conventions will attain auspicious wealth and go to the celestial world" (*NS*. 1.125-128).

I have previously made a comparison of what we can conventionally term the *yajña* and *pūjā* ritual archetypes.²³ As that comparison showed, the *yajña* and *pūjā* rituals did not coincide in whatever essential aspects of religious practice, which determine (1) the type of arrangement of the ritual space, (2) the type of the offering, and (3) the ritual goals of the worship. That sufficed to assume that *yajña* and *pūjā* ascended to different ritual archetypes, with different structures and sacrificial symbolism. More than that, if we proceed from the conclusions of that particular study, we may assume that no transformation of *yajña*, however arbitrary it might be, could lead to the emergence of *pūjā* without destroying the constituent bases of the Vedic ritualism.

If we proceed from a wide range of linguistic and historical testimony, it would be more correct to regard the *pūjā* as an intrinsically non-Aryan ritual, which was adapted by the Aryan community in a deepgoing crisis of the *yajña* in the mid-1st millennium BCE.²⁴ Without touching here on what caused the crisis, and what global ritual innovations followed up to new religions emerging, such as Buddhism and Jainism, let us concentrate on the Indra festival. We may interpret the transformation of its religious aspect as a particular instance of large-scale changes in the ancient Indian ritualism at the watershed of the late Vedic and the early epic eras.

In that case, we can see why the late Vedic writings - to which belongs the text of the *Kausikasūtra* under consideration - describe the festival as a typical Vedic ritual in which Vedic hymns are recited and the *yajña* sacrifice made, while even the *Mahābhārata*, whose oldest layer is conventionally dated to the mid-1st millennium BCE,²⁵ presents it as a new festival unfolding round the *pūjā*, a ritual thitherto unknown. As we possess descriptions of the Indra festival shortly before and after the critical era, the mid-1st millennium BCE, the idea appears attractive to track down the evolution of Ancient Indian ritualism not only theoretically, at the level of comparison of archetypes, but on the practical example of a genuine ritual transformed, *pūjā* worship replacing the *yajña* sacrifice.

The text of the *Mahābhārata* which we used for comparison above does not suit us in this instance as it offers a metaphorical, mythological substantiation of a new version of the festival, rather than a precise description of the ritual. The other source used here, the *Viṣṇudharmottarapurāna*, is not highly informative in this context, either. First, it goes back to a much later time

than the mid-1st millennium BCE and, second, omits a detailed description of *pūjā* rites.

Despite all that, we do have a description of the *pūjā* ritual which is representative in the context of our goal, and which allows to reconstrue the evolution of the ritual aspect of the Indra festival - I mean one of the kinds of *pūjā* known as the *pūrvaraṅga* and presented in detail in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*.

There are several arguments in favour of the choice falling on that precise ritual. As previous research has shown, the *pūrvaraṅga* is one of the earliest rituals of the *pūjā* circle, which emerged as the new cult was establishing and included a number of archaic elements.²⁶ More than that, it was the ritual which preceded drama performance since the inception of the theatrical tradition. As the *Nāṭyaśāstra* myth testifies and other sources confirm, the oldest drama performances were closely linked with the Indra festival. That connection survived for a fairly long time, as is clear from the *Viṣṇudharmottara-purāṇa*, which appeared centuries later. Proceeding from testimony direct and indirect, we can assume that the drama, which was not part of the Indra festival from the start, was introduced at a certain stage and in close connection with another spectacular innovation, the adaptation of the *pūjā* ritual. It is possible to expect a link between the ritual part of the Indra festival, which preceded the drama, and the *pūrvaraṅga* of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, which later was a compulsory prelude to whatever religious spectacle. The link fixed, among others, the process that interests us - ritual transformation from the *yajña* to the *pūjā*.

We can verify this assumption by comparing the Vedic ritual of the Indra festival the way the *Kauśikasūtra* presents it, and the *pūrvaraṅga* description in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* (NS. 5.1-179).²⁷

As the *Nāṭyaśāstra* has it, the *pūrvaraṅga* ritual followed long ceremonial preparations. Three priests solemnly strode into the sacrificial site. As their Vedic predecessors in the Indra festival, they made preliminary ablutions and put on brand-new, never laundered vestments. One, the *sūtradhāra* - high priest, in this case - was holding white flowers. One of the two others, his assistants, carried a golden pot of water, and the other the symbol of Indra's banner. Unlike in what the *Kauśikasūtra* tells us, it was not a big tree but a light bamboo staff named *dhvaja* or *jarjara*.

As they appeared on stage, the assistants stood motionless in ritual attitudes while the *sūtradhāra* came into the centre of the sacrificial site for a number of ritual actions as he was marking and consecrating the area in which the bamboo staff was to rise at the next stage of the ritual.

The *sūtradhāra* next paced in a solemn circle round the site and beckoned the assistant with the pot to sprinkle himself with water and then drink some in small gulps - just what the Vedic king and priest were to do in preparation to exalt the Indra tree. In that, what the *sūtradhāra* was doing was not only outwardly but symbolically identical to the Vedic rite as he immediately started exalting the bamboo staff with the utmost caution.

Indicatively, the *Nāṭyaśāstra* is no less laconic in its description of the ceremony than the *Kauśikasūtra*. In fact, that part of the ritual - the most solemn and significant - is not described but mentioned in short, mainly through ordering the *sūtradhāra* to be as careful as possible as he took the *jarjara* (*NS*.5.83). Evidently, the exaltation of the divine symbol was no less dangerous and taboo in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* time than in the Vedic - principally because the object representing it, be it a big tree or a flimsy bamboo pole, was mystically identified with deities. In the Vedic era, the tree represented Indra alone and was identified with the god. Thus, the *Kauśikasūtra* says of the elevation of the tree: "They set up Indra" (*KS*. 140-7). According to the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, the bamboo pole could come as personification of several gods at once, all in the highest positions in the hierarchy of the post-Vedic pantheon.

The new concept of this particular ritual object evidently did not appear overnight. The *pūjā* - the way its rites are presented in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* - long treated it as symbolising Indra alone. More than that, a special ritual emerged only with time to turn Indra's banner and weapon into the abode of many gods.

The ceremony is described in detail in Chapter III of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, which concerns the sacralisation of a new bamboo pole, never exalted before. The pole, cut in a special way, was brought into the ritual area and extolled as Indra's weapon at the start with a *pūjā* sacrifice to the recitation of a *mantra* incantation. The following worshipful words were addressed to the pole: "Thou art Mahendra's missile able to kill all the demons (*dānavas*) and superbly created by all the gods; thou art capable of destroying all the obstacles, bring victory to the King and defeat to his enemies, welfare unto cows and Brahmins, and steady progress to the art of *Nāṭya*" (*NS*. 3.12-13).

This canonical *mantra* was different in principle from whatever other appeals to the *jarjara*. The text, doubtless, had a ritual content and was not for nothing said at that precise instant of adoration. The bamboo was for a last time regarded as Indra's magic weapon which in times immemorial protected the first drama from evil demons, and hymned for a last time as symbol of Indra alone. A sequence of ritual actions made it at the next stage of the ceremony the abode of several gods at once - Brahmā, Śiva, Viṣṇu, Skanda and the king of the Nāgas in his three hypostases (*NS*. 3.74-76).

In that, the *jarjara* was not merely adorned but the five junctions of the pole were singled out on it. A *pūjā* was next performed in honour of the *jarjara*, and a *mantra* addressed to the gods materialised in it. As the *Nāṭyaśāstra* has it, "as everything is duly done with incense burning, garlands and anointments, the *jarjara* shall be consecrated for the defeat of the *Vighnas* (demons) with this *mantra*: 'Thou art made by gods led by Brahmā to suppress the *Vighnas*, endowed with great power, exceedingly strong, on a great foundation. May Brahmā with all the gods guard the top, Hara (Śiva) thy second joint, Janārdana (Viṣṇu) the third, Kumāra (Skanda) fourth, and the first of the Nāgas fifth. May all gods protect thee. Have mercy on us, thou killer of the enemies, thou born under the *nakṣatra* Abhijit,²⁸ bring victory and well-being to our King !" (*NS.* 3.76-81).

Thus, the ritual consecrated the bamboo pole as the abode of many gods to graphically change its ritual status. The function of Indra's divine weapon and symbol, as substantiated by the legend of the first drama performance, now receded into the background, forever stripped of topicality. Though the pole retained its name of *jarjara* after the consecration, it was now not so much Indra's weapon as an analogue of the world tree, with the top in heaven and roots reaching the underworld. The ritual bestowed on the pole the sacral status it had in the *pūrvaraṅga*, with the upward vertical for the *axis mundi*, standing at the same time for the *arbor mundi*.

Once he had exalted the bamboo pole in the *pūrvaraṅga*, the *sūtradhāra* recited the *mantras*, just as the priest at the Vedic Indra festival, to go over to a next stage of the ritual, also symbolically linked with the sacral vertical. He made a circle of the ritual area, the *maṇḍala*, with the pole always in the centre. The prescribed number of steps made, the priest stopped to make a bow to the cardinal point corresponding to his position on the circle. He next moved on to make another bow several steps later. The first bow was east, in Indra's honour, the next south in Yama's, a third west, Varuṇa's, and the last north, in honour of Dhanada, or Kubera (*NS* 5.95-97).

That particular stage of the *pūrvaraṅga* may appear at first sight to have nothing in common with the Vedic Indra festival, and offer no analogies to it. That is only partly true, as the description in the *Kauśikasūtra* contains a detail which gives grounds if not for outward than for certain symbolic comparisons. As said above, a sequence of prayers was addressed to the Indra tree once it was exalted. The principal, a hymn from the *Atharvaveda* (6.99.1), mentioned in the *Kauśikasūtra*, said, in part: "Of the eastern quarter thou, O Indra, art king; also of the northern quarter art thou, Vṛtra-slayer, the slayer of enemies; whereto the streams go, that is conquered by thee; in the South as (a) bull, thou goest worthy of invocation."²⁹

We do not know what rituals were performed as that hymn was chanted.

Possibly, the priest was circling the sacrificial area. If he was walking counter-clockwise, he would pass from the eastern sector to the northern and, without stopping in the western, reach the southern while reciting the related verses of the hymn. That is all the more probable as the very next verse of the hymn (AV. 6.99.2), recited immediately after the first, refers to great expanses with an appeal to Indra to occupy them.³⁰

After he made a circle round the exalted bamboo pole in the *pūrvaraṅga*, and bowing to the gods who protected it on the four cardinal points, the *sūtradhāra* next worshipped the three supreme deities - Śiva, Brahmā and Viṣṇu. After that came the most solemn moment of the ritual: a *pūjā* sacrifice was made in honour of the *sūtradhāra*, the musical instruments and the *jarjara*.

What interests us most in this context is the symbolical meaning of the *pūjā* in honour of the exalted bamboo pole. Formally, the ritual can be regarded as a typological parallel to the Vedic sacrifice to Indra's tree, made by the *yajña*. There is a crying difference, however, between the general religious content of the ceremonies and the related techniques. The Vedic Indra festival demanded the slaughter of a sacrificial animal, most often, a cow or a bull. There was bloodshed as oil libations made the ritual fire flare up to produce a magical atmosphere. The emphatically aestheticised ritualism of the *pūjā*, on the contrary, introduced the bloodless sacrifice of fragrances, flowers, water and viands.

As the *pūjā* marked the climax of adoration, the *sūtradhāra* recited the principal prayer of the ritual right after it. That prayer exactly repeated the incantations with which Indra was addressed in the Vedic rite in supplication of protection and intercession. Next came the destruction of the sacral space as the end of the ritual. Here, again, the *pūrvaraṅga* repeated the Vedic Indra festival. Indicatively, the same was performed to remove the divine symbol - a tree consecrated to Indra was taken down and drowned in the river in the Vedic celebrations, while in the *pūrvaraṅga*, the *sūtradhāra* lowered down the bamboo pole.

The action demanded the utmost caution, what with the threatening content which underlay it. As the *Nāṭyaśāstra* presents it, the *sūtradhāra* was left alone near the pole while his two assistants receded into the background of the sacrificial area. The chief priest recited a solemn *mantra* again to extol the sacral vertical and took it down only after that, and with every precaution. Clutching the *jarjara* in his right hand, the *sūtradhāra* made a sequence of ritual steps as he recited incantations, and then receded backstage to pass it to one of his assistants. After that, he was to make another number or ritual actions which symbolised the end of the rite with the destruction of the ritual space.

As our comparison demonstrates, the ritual actions of the late Vedic Indra festival were doubled, in a way, in the *pūrvaraṅga* of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, while preserving their sequence and largely semantics of the Vedic era. If we ignore practical details to concentrate on the ritual system underlying the *pūrvaraṅga*,³¹ we can assume that it, in fact, incorporated all basic stages of the Vedic Indra festival. Really, as we describe the *pūrvaraṅga* as a whole, we can say that it was the ritual of exalting, worshipping and deposition of the sacral vertical - which enables us to interpret it as a version of the Vedic Indra festival.

That point becomes all the clearer if we take into consideration the fact that the ritual arrangement of the *pūrvaraṅga* was not an archetypal model of all *pūjā* rituals. Thus, even the second rite of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* reveals a principal difference at the structural level - the one related to the consecration of the theatre edifice. As the later, mediaeval *pūjā* rites, which are described in the Āgamas, it included the adoration of a bamboo pole. That adoration, however, developed into a mere part of the liturgy - not an essential one, at that, and no longer played a part determining the structure and progress of the entire ritual which it once had in the *pūrvaraṅga*.

Of much greater importance in the later *pūjā* rituals was adoration of the images of gods, which transferred the idea of divine presence in a much more spectacular way than a bamboo pole could ever do. Indicative in that sense was the sheer preservation of that ritual object in the mediaeval *pūjā* rites, which we know from the Āgamas.³² It looked exactly as the bamboo *jarjara* of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, was termed "banner" (*dhvaja*), and worshipped with the *pūjā* - which we may regard as weighty proof of the Āgamic tradition being linked not only to the *Nāṭyaśāstra* rituals but, indirectly, to the Vedic festival of exalting Indra's banner. This closeness of the *pūrvaraṅga* and the Vedic Indra festival testifies to the historical reliability of the myth which came down to us in the initial chapter of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. We, however, ought not to interpret it the way Kuiper intended to. To all appearances, the first dramas were really performed during that national festival, with its vast congregations. The Vedic festival and the system of mythological ideas reflected in it had an impact, however, not so much on the structure and the subject matter of the first dramas, as Kuiper has it, as on the *pūrvaraṅga*, the ritual which later preceded them. That ritual really took shape under the direct impact of the Vedic festival of Indra's banner, and largely preserved its ritual scheme. Once we possess the *Nāṭyaśāstra* text, we can say that this ritual did not undergo whatever essential change at the structural level. The type of sacrifice alone was cardinally reformed to enter into crying contrast with the Vedic. Bloodless sacrifice of food, fragrances, flowers and water came to replace a bull or cow sacrifice to Indra's banner.

A question, however, arises whether such transformation was at all possible, and whether the proposed model of the change undergone by the Indra festival merely reflects the views of a contemporary scholar, who is far from ideas entertained by followers of the Vedic religious culture. What we really have here is a thorough change of principles underlying a religious paradigm - in fact, the destruction of a tradition as the ancestral ritual was given up for a marginal and obscure non-Aryan rite adapted. Even if we assume that the idea could emerge in the priestly milieu, we ought to see whether the flock could put up with it - a flock who did not penetrate the esoteric content of the service, and saw the meaning of the ritual in its repetition and recognition.

The answer partly lies in the very character of ritual transformation. Really, the change of the ritual aspect of the Indra festival could not be regarded by the adepts as a matter of principle while its pivotal parts survived: a bamboo pole was taken to the ritual space just as the Indra tree, exalted and worshipped like it with prayer and sacrifice, and supplications were addressed to it, next to depose the pole after a sequence of ceremonies.

Of much greater importance in that sense was the stance of the priests who displayed personal initiative to take upon themselves the responsibility of religious reform - and of the king who approved and sanctioned a deep-going reform to adapt a new ritual, which was not Aryan, into the bargain. Most probably, the radical religious reform was rooted in a crisis of the *yajña* worship, which we mentioned above in passing. Really, many rites of the *yajña* cult got out of ritual practice, starting with the mid-1st millennium BCE, finally to disappear. That is mainly true of the solemn rites of *soma* sacrifice. On the one hand, rituals related to *soma* - potion granting immortality and principal ritual libation of the Vedic era - were regarded as essential and the most sacral, and involved the top of the religious hierarchy. On the other hand, they demanded sizeable expenditures, long preparations and a great number of priests.

From a purely formal point, the Vedic Indra festival was outside that circle of rituals. It was neither very old nor highly sacral, and lagged behind other solemn Vedic rites in that sense - suffice it to mention an utter lack of interest in that particular festival displayed by the central monuments of the tradition. We come only across occasional descriptions of the Indra festival - as a rule, in the more obscure writings of the various Vedic schools, mainly, the *Atharvaveda*, to which the *Kausikasūtra* belongs.

That mere fact makes us doubt Kuiper's interpretation of the Indra festival. If it really were a major Vedic event, and model of the principal cosmogonic myth of the tradition, many written monuments of that tradition would offer its descriptions. Quite probably, it would have included the *soma* sacrifice, considering the *soma* libations were among the principal features of the Vedic

cult of Indra. More than that, the *soma* mythologem was part and parcel of the basic cosmogonic myth. Indra was drinking *soma* to gain in might before his battle with the demon Vrtra, as many Rgvedic hymns say.

Kuiper was, most probably, overestimating the cosmogonic content of the Vedic Indra festival,³³ and Gonda, whom he criticised, appears to be closer to the point.³⁴ As the latter assumed, the festival was a version of an annual royal ritual. Most likely, the festival actualised some other aspect of Indra's image than what Kuiper thought, with Indra coming out not as demiurge and creator of the world but as king of gods and the pantheon's first victorious warrior. Both hypostases possessed sufficient content to liken the earthly king to, and even identify with Indra during the festival and so confirm the king's status as ruler entitled to sacral power, and as protector of his subjects endowed with supernatural might.

Thus, Indian kings of the late Vedic time would have personal interest in the ritual performed every year to offer proof of their royal status, and bring it renovation. Indra's banner festival gathered huge congregations as a national event in which the public were called to demonstrate their loyalty and dedication to the king, and gain affluent well-being in exchange. So, apart from a ritual aspect, the Indra festival had a social undercurrent doubtless, of a profound importance of its own.

Quite possibly, the Vedic festival of Indra's banner exaltation lost popularity, to an extent, as the *yajña* was undergoing an all-round crisis and the effect of an overwhelming majority of solemn Vedic rites was put to doubt. Importantly, the Indra festival was one of special royal rituals under stronger jurisdiction of the king and his household priest than of a particular Brahmanic clan. The potentate and his priest faced a crucial choice one day. Were they to give up the annual royal ritual or transform it, to an extent? Their choice was of an exceptional daring and far-reaching consequences - a new, non-Aryan ritual form, the *pūjā*, was accepted for adaptation.

A secondary nature of the ritual, relative freedom of its arrangement, a large number of worshippers it gathered and, last but not least, exceptional sacral competences with which the king was endowed for a time as plenipotentiary of heaven on earth - all provided, as we see it, practical reasons for the Indra pageant to be selected to adopt a new, modified type of sacrifice. The overall semantics of the festival timed for the watershed of two cosmic cycles, and aimed to confirm cosmic power in a passing realm of chaos were, doubtless, playing a certain part in the choice. If one so wished, the rampant *yajña* crisis could be interpreted as a manifestation of chaos. As Indra performed his feat of glory again, so the king, his deputy in this world, was to restore order on earth in a heroic effort.

We shall never know whether those arguments coincided with public aspirations which promoted the adaptation of the *pūjā*. We cannot doubt, however, that the newly-introduced ritual helped to overcome a profound crisis as the *yajña* was rapidly losing popularity. As he replaced the *yajña* with the *pūjā*, the king could from then on celebrate the Indra festival in a new religious situation to buttress his power as before.

If we proceed from related texts, we can assume that the performance of dramas - scenic versions of the latest epic myths - was introduced at a fairly early stage, if not from the start.³⁵ A ceremonial arrangement in which the *pūjā* preceded the stage performance was, most probably, established at the same time.

We cannot rule out that the introduction of the drama was substantiated, to an extent, by the realities of the Indra festival proper. One of the most spectacular forms of the Vedic ritualism was possibly connected with that festival.³⁶ Testifying to the point is the *Kausikasūtra*, which preserves an instruction to perform something miraculous during the festival - in particular, demonstrate the *vimāna*, magic chariot of gods.³⁷ The miracles accompanying the show could hardly be intended for Brahmins, with their fine education, and cultivated and worldly-wise courtiers. As any miracle cult, that part of the pageantry was most probably, meant for the congregation of commoners in visual confirmation of the festival being out of the ordinary, with a divine content to it. The early dramas were, quite possibly, meant for a similar effect, with miracles prominent in them. As the *Nāṭyaśāstra* has it, gods acted in those dramas to appear to worshippers in the flesh, as never before. Thus, the introduction of stage performance in the Indra festival had a practical goal - to attract the pious and make an impact on their religious feeling with the special device of visual sermon, on the principle of "better seen once than heard a hundred times."

If all that is true, we ought to recognise the Indra festival as standing at the cradle of sweeping historical and religious reforms. It might have been a day as any other when the *pūjā* sacrifice was first made in the annual royal ritual at the bidding of the king and his household priest - yet it ushered in a new era in Indian civilisation. We ought to see the principal result of the ritual reform in the emergence of a new religious culture, which gradually took shape round the *pūjā* cult eventually to become known under the conventional name of Hinduism. There were other consequences, of no smaller importance - among them the birth of theatrical tradition. The literary Sanskrit drama appeared within it to crown the developments and honourably contribute to the global renown of Indian culture.

That evolution took centuries, while the present essay concerns far closer the change of the Indra festival proper as it survived the critical time of the

mid-1st millennium BCE to remain topical up to the later mediaevality. An updated festival version which took shape round the *pūjā* ritual proved extremely viable, as we can ascertain. Its initial stage, however, might have demanded a certain supplementary religious substantiation. The *Mahābhārata* myth we regarded above provided such substantiation. The myth is right as it refers to the emergence of the Indra festival - really, it was previously non-existent in that particular form. Indicative is the testimony of the myth to the new festival appearing at direct royal bidding which promptly earns divine approval. That, in itself, comes as mediated confirmation of our previous assumptions on the role of a king, or a sequence of kings, in the religious reform.

The *Mahābhārata* myth has a borderline nature, and contains reminiscences of several traditions at once. On the one hand, it refers to the *vimāna* chariot and pictures Indra as king of gods, protector of earthly kings and the first in the heavenly host - which evidently ascends to mythological realities of the Vedic Indra festival. On the other hand, the many particular instances mentioned in the myth indicate a reformed content of the festive ritual to bring it close to the ritual and mythological precepts of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*.

Thus, a light bamboo pole replaces the heavy tree of the *Kauśikasūtra* and other late Vedic sources as principal ritual object. The use of a light pole instead of a big tree - which usually needed an elephant to take it from the forest to the ritual site, and later to the river to be drowned - finds an explanation in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* rituals, in which the bamboo pole was to be held by one man, who carried it into the stage, exalted it and later deposed it without any assistance.³⁸ Far more vague is a reference to the bamboo pole, not greatly representative outwardly, in the Indra festival as described in the *Mahābhārata* myth. Really, a vast congregation, to say nothing of the royal courtiers, could easily cope with exalting a high tree - all the easier since that part of the festival was the most understandable to commoners, and had been made holy by the entire preceding tradition. More than that, a small bamboo pole, approximately two metres high, was barely visible and, in that sense, far less spectacular than the tree which could be seen from any point even in great crowd. However, the appearance of the bamboo in the *Mahābhārata* myth is perfectly explicable if we assume that the festival it describes reflects the same ritual and mythological tradition as the *Nāṭyaśāstra*.

As we have to recognise in that case, the use of a light bamboo pole instead of a big and heavy tree was among the practical innovations which materialised the reform of the ritual aspect of the Indra festival. Initially reflected in the *Mahābhārata* myth and the *Nāṭyaśāstra* rituals, it later came over into the later, mediaeval *pūjā* rites which succeeded to the same tradition.

Indicative in that sense are references to the bamboo pole as Indra's

gift, which are to be found in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Nāṭyaśāstra* alike. As the epic legend has it, the god made the gift to King Vasu Uparicara (*Mbh.* 1.57.17) thus to provide a sacral object for a new festival. In the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, the god makes the gift twice, first as his own sacred banner in token of approval of the first-ever stage performance (*NS.* 1.59) and a second time, as the *jarjara*, weapon destined from then on to protect the drama (*NS.* 1.75).

We can point out a number of other similarities of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* rituals and ritual realities mentioned in the epic myth. Thus, as the *Mahābhārata* myth has it, the pole was exalted at the Indra festival the day after it was adorned with fabrics and flower garlands (*Mbh.* I. 1.57.20).³⁹ We have analysed above an analogous ceremony of bamboo pole decoration, which the *Nāṭyaśāstra* describes in detail. As the ceremony prescribed, fabrics of different colours were tied round the pole at its five joints, after which flower garlands and fragrances were sacrificed to the pole - just as the *Mahābhārata* has it. (*NS.* 3.74-76). We cannot rule out that one and the same ritual is referred to in both sources. That is even more probable as both concern a ceremony preceding the exaltation of the pole. The *Nāṭyaśāstra* demands that form of consecration of a new *jarjara*, never exalted in a previous *pūrvarāṅga*, while the *Mahābhārata* myth refers to the adoration of a pole to be exalted the next day.

The use of fresh flowers is another salient feature shared by the *Nāṭyaśāstra* rituals and the ritual realities preserved in the *Mahābhārata* myth. Flowers and floral garlands were scarcely used in the context of the Vedic worship to acquire extraordinary prominence in the *pūjā* ritualism, which elevated them to the status of an universal sacrificial offering. The *Mahābhārata* myth repeatedly refers to flowers and garlands. In particular, it mentions a ring of garlands in which Indra's pole was circled after exaltation (*Mbh.* 1.57.20).⁴⁰ It was to visually appear as a flower ring with the sacral pole in the centre. That rite can be regarded as direct parallel to one stage of the *pūrvarāṅga*, which immediately followed the exaltation of the *jarjara*. After exalting the pole, the *sūtradhāra* circumvented it as if describing a symbolic circle whose most sacral points he singled out with fresh white flowers (*NS.* 5.94-97).

Proceeding from all that, we can state that, in fact, all ritual features mentioned by the *Mahābhārata* myth find some or other correspondences in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* rituals. We ought to bear in mind here that the epic narration is not by far meant to offer a detailed account of the ritual performed in the reformed Indra festival. On the contrary, the *Mahābhārata* myth is extremely laconic there. The epic certainly mentions only the few nodal instants of the ritual which attracted the closest attention of the authors. We owe to their interested attention the information which reached our day about the bamboo

pole. As we know, the exaltation of that small pole, previously adorned with multicolour fabrics, emerged in the Indra festival even in the early epic era, close to the mid-1st millennium BCE. Following the exaltation came a new ritual, the *pūjā*, in which fragrances and flowers were used in plenty - all that on the king's initiative and with his express approval.

Such closeness of the reformed Indra festival and the *Nāṭyaśāstra* rituals makes us wonder about the reasons for that affinity and the content of links between the two. Most probably, the Indra banner festival, in the form portrayed in the *Mahābhārata*, preceded the ritual complex of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. That basically concerns the *pūrvarāṅga*, which was the closest to it in structure and symbolism. Even despite that graphic likeness, the *pūrvarāṅga* was much different from the reformed Indra festival. First, the Indra festival took several days - indicatively, the *Mahābhārata* mentions ceremonies of the day before the exaltation of the pole (*Mbh.* I.57.20), while the *pūrvarāṅga* lasted a mere few hours, as the *Nāṭyaśāstra* has it. Those hours, however, sufficed for events which took a week or longer in a real festival.

In that sense, the *pūrvarāṅga* not so much reproduces as reappraises the Indra festival. It comes as a kind of miniature replica of the festival—much shorter yet preserving, at the structural level, the ritual scheme of the pageant underlying it. The appearance of that shorter version finds easy explanation in the need for a ritual to precede and sanctify the drama, especially after it acquired an independent status to be performed irrespective of the annual Indra festival. That is all the more probable as we know the *pūrvarāṅga* from a treatise on the scenic art, which really interprets it as a ritual accompanying every drama performance.

We cannot rule out, however, that underlying the emergence of a shortened version of the Indra festival were much more profound and complicated processes linked not so much with the progress of scenic art as with the gradual formation of the *pūjā* cult proper. Important in that sense was the seasonal nature of the Indra festival, which was celebrated only once a year. That fact in itself could hardly promote active formation of a new ritual-mythological paradigm. Evidently, if the *pūjā* performance remained occasional - only in the process of a particular festival - it would have stayed forever an isolated ritual instance, an outlandish ritual form without any notable influence on further development of ancient Indian religious culture.

That was not the case, as we know for sure. Thus, certain universal liturgical forms had to emerge early enough, at the same time possessing all features of the *pūjā* ritualism and able to serve the various aspects of religious life. There were, most probably, several such rituals even at the earliest formative stage of the *pūjā* cult. The *dīkṣā*, new initiation ceremony, was possibly among them. Preserving its Vedic name, it acquired thoroughly

new features. The liturgical meaning of the *dīkṣā* is clear as the rite which guaranteed the legal status of⁴¹ an adept. A similar ritual existed in the Vedic time and was indispensable in the new religious system. That, in its turn, provided prerequisites for its formation at the very inception of the *pūjā* cult.

The *pūrvaraṅga* was, most probably, another early ritual. It is essential in that sense that both rituals were sufficiently close to each other and reflected one and the same stage of religious cultural development. Testifying to the latter point is the simplicity of the ritual scheme which underlay them. On the one hand, it fully reflected the semantics and symbolism of the *pūjā* and, on the other hand, was not yet burdened with a great number of outward details characteristic of the later, mediaeval rites.

Unlike the *dīkṣā*, the applied role of the *pūrvaraṅga* was expressed not so graphically by far. On the contrary, it was, to all appearances, one of the first universal rites of the *pūjā* cult which could be performed any time for solemn worship. In that sense, the *pūrvaraṅga* did not aspire in the slightest to replace the Indra festival, which remained a seasonal ritual performed every year. The festival survived to the late mediaevality in that form. Most probably, the *pūrvaraṅga* was conceived from the start as an independent liturgical form which could be used any time, and which the *pūjā* cult needed in its gradual establishment. While preserving, at the structural level, many features of the festival to which it owed its appearance, the *pūrvaraṅga* materialised a thoroughly different ritual paradigm. Among others, the status of Indra was reappraised within that paradigm. Robbed forever of his position of King of Gods and head of the heavenly host, he acquired a much more modest status of one of the four Lokapālas.⁴²

If we assume that the *pūrvaraṅga* had its elevated religious status at the start, and was the basic liturgical form of the *pūjā* cult for some time, we have to answer a question: Why is it now regarded as a secondary rite whose description has come down to us only in a treatise on scenic art? As I see it, the answer is connected with the evolutionary process itself of the tradition which interests us. The formation of the *pūrvaraṅga* goes back to a very early - initial, in fact - stage of the *pūjā* cult emergence. Its two principal constituent features - the practice of temple construction and the creation of special liturgical images of gods - had not appeared by that time. The emergence of both brought to life new liturgical forms, which we know nowadays as temple versions of the *pūjā*, related to adoration of the images of gods. Naturally, the *pūrvaraṅga* was doomed to be regarded as something desperately outdated at a time when temples were built everywhere and images of gods widely circulated. Really, the *pūrvaraṅga* envisaged the ritual space arranged every time anew, and used only the simplest ritual symbols, as the bamboo pole. Its links with the drama alone retained topicality

from the religious viewpoint as it was intrinsically linked with the drama due to the Indra festival. To all appearances, that was how the idea emerged of the *pūrvarāṅga* as special ceremony of drama consecration, and the *Nāṭyaśāstra* fixed it as such.

We can assume, despite all that, that the *pūrvarāṅga* was one of the first canonical rites of the *pūjā* cult. It retained forever many features of the Indra festival ritual at the structural level, while it was impossible to reappraise or thoroughly change them due to the genetic nature of the links between them.

Notes and References

1. See : J. J. Meyer. "Trilogie altindischer Mächte und Feste der Vegetation. Ein Beitrag zur vergleichenden Religions- und Kulturgeschichte." *Fest- und Volkskunde*, Bd. III, Zurich-Leipzig, 1937, pp. 116-134. Meyer's work cites, translated into German, practically all extant references to the Indra festival. As J. Gonda points out in: "The Indra Festival According to the Atharavedins", *JAOS*, Vol. 87, 1967, pp. 413-429, Meyer omitted two notable early texts - *Kauśikasūtra* 140 and *Atharvavedaparīṣiṣṭa* 19. Gonda sees the reason in both texts leaving out descriptions of technicalities pertaining to tree felling, transportation, exaltation, etc. Gonda fills in the blank by translating the related section of the *Kauśikasūtra* and supplementing it with an extensive commentary. Both scholars refer to a book I could not obtain: O. Viennot. *Le culte de l'arbre dans l'Inde ancienne*. P., 1954, which contains, in particular, archaeological testimony to the *Indra* banner festival.
2. See : J. Gonda "The Indra Festival According to the Atharavedins", pp. 413-416.
3. See : F. B. J. Kuiper, *Varuṇa and Vidūṣaka. On the Origin of the Sanskrit Drama*. Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afdeling Letterkunde, Nieuwe Reeks, deel 100. Amsterdam-Oxford-New York, 1979, pp. 130, note 85.
4. Ancient Indian texts point at varying dates of the Indra festival within an extensive limit from June/July to November/December. Kuiper attempted to explain it by changes in the Ancient Indian calendar and New Year's shifts. *Op.cit.*, pp. 131-138.
5. The dating of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* is a research problem on its own, and subject of scholarly debates for many decades. P. Renou, who ventured out one of the first with an opinion on the matter, proceeded from studies of the rhetoric and meter of the treatise to conclude that the *Nāṭyaśāstra* appeared no later than the 1st century BCE. See : "Le Dix-Septième chapitre du Bharatiya-nāṭya-çāstra", *Annals du Musée Guimet*. Tome I. P., 1880 and "Le metrique de Bharata, texte sanscrit de deux chapitres du Nāṭyaśāstra publice pour la première fois et suivi d'une interpretation française", *Annals du Musée Guimet*. Tome II. P., 1884. Haraprasad Sastri shifted the dating another century back as he deemed far more probable the appearance of the treatise in the 2nd century BCE. See : H. Sastrin. "The Origin of Indian Drama", *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. 5, 1909, pp. 351-358. M. Ghosh, translator and publisher of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*,

initially thought that a correct dating lay within the limit of several centuries, from the 1st BCE., when its oldest layer took shape, into the 2nd CE., time of its final formation. Long work at the manuscripts as he was preparing the publication and translating the text brought Ghosh to a thoroughly different conclusion. Proceeding from the material of the monument, he made an attempt to demonstrate that the oldest layers of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* ascended to the mid-1st millennium BCE. See: *The Nāṭyaśāstra, ascribed to Bharata Muni*. Sanskrit Text ed. by M. Ghosh. Vol. 1. (Chap. I-XXVII). Calcutta, 1967. All references to the *Nāṭyaśāstra* are from that edition.

6. See : F. B. J. Kuiper. *Varuṇa and Vidūṣaka*, pp. 142.
7. That is all the more probable since, in other sections, the *Nāṭyaśāstra* assuredly says that the first drama was titled *Amṛtamanthana* (4.1-3) and thus was a stage version of the well-known epic myth of the churning of *amṛta*.
8. References to the *Kauśikasūtra* are from : J. Gonda. "The Indra Festival According to the Atharvavedins."
9. References to the *Mahābhārata* are from : *The Mahābhārata* for the first time critically ed. by V. S. Sukthankar and S. K. Belvalkar. Vol. 1 (*Ādiparvan*) Poona, 1933.
10. August-September of the contemporary calendar. For details see : J. Gonda. "The Indra Festival According to the Atharvavedins", pp. 420, Note 2.
11. September-October of the contemporary calendar.
12. Name for a group of stars approximately corresponding to the Eagle constellation.
13. As Gonda points out (*Ibid*, pp. 420, Note 4) the *Kauśikasūtra* refers to the *brahman* who performed the ritual according to the *Atharvaveda* - unlike the *hotṛ*, who used the *Rgveda*, *adhvaryu*, whose *samhita* was the *Yajurveda*, and the *udgātṛ*, who used the *Sāmaveda*. The former priest appeared comparatively lately in the Vedic ritual, and attracted scholarly attention more than once. See, in particular: H. W. Bodewitz. "The Fourth Priest (the Brahman) in Vedic Ritual". *Selected Studies on Ritual in the Indian Religions*. Essays to D. J. Hoens. Ed. by R. Kloppenborg. Leiden, Brill, 1983, p. 33-68.
14. Literally, *pūrṇahoma*, whose descriptions and references to which came down to us elsewhere in the *Kauśikasūtra* (67. 19; 72.36; 73.4; 138.15). For details, see : J. Gonda. *Op.cit.*, pp. 425-426, Note 10.
15. As Gonda points out, that particular term was especially used by authors of the *Atharvaveda* texts. Apart from the *Kauśikasūtra* (3.19; 6.3; 47.10; 63.29), it is to be met in a number of texts of that tradition. For details, See: *Ibid*. p. 428-429, Note 18.
16. It is easy to see why the texts attach great importance to the concluding stage of the ritual. The ceremony of that stage implied considerable danger as it was based on the idea of destroying links between the world of gods and the world of man, which had been established in the ritual. The ceremony meant to block an invisible canal and disengage, in a way, the earthly reality from the higher, heavenly spheres. Cf. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (*ŚBr*) 4.4.4.5.

17. References to the *pūjā* ritual are to be found in several contexts in that particular myth. The following deserve the greatest interest:

tasyaḥ śakrasya pūjārtham bhūmau bhūmi patistadā (Mbh. I.57.18)

etām pūjām mahendrastu dr̥ṣṭvā deva kṛtam śubhām (Mbh. I.57.22).

18. *sthāne sthāne deyā prekṣyā... pūjayen nṛtyagītena rātrau śakram narādhipaḥ.*

19. *nityam nṛtyena gītena tathā śakram ca pūjayet.*

20. *tato labdhajayaḥ śakraḥ pūjayāmāsa tam dhvajam.*

21. *nityam ca juhuyān mantrān purodhāḥ śākravaṣṇavān.*

22. *bhagavān pūjyate cātra hāsyarūpeṇa śamkaraḥ.*

23. See : N. Lidova. "Yajña and Pūjā. A comparison of the ritual archetypes", *JASB*, Vol. 74, 2000, pp. 127-138.

24. For details, see : N. Lidova. *Drama and Ritual of Early Hinduism*. Delhi, 1994, pp. 115-118.

25. See : E. W. Hopkins. *The Great Epic of India : Its Character and Origin*. N. Y., 1901; and *Epic Mythology*. Grundriss der Indo-Arischen Philologie and Altertumskunde, Bd. III. H. 1-B. Strassburg, 1915.

26. See : N. Lidova. *Drama and Ritual of Early Hinduism*, pp. 21-22, 45-50.

27. The structure and symbolism of the *pūrvaraṅga* ritual were analysed in detail in: N. Lidova. *op.cit.*, pp. 7-23. From works entirely dedicated to the ritual, see: F. B. Kuiper, "The Worship of the Jarjara on the Stage". *IJ*, Vol. XVI, No. 4, 1975, pp. 241-268.

28. Vega.

29. J. Gonda. "The Indra Festival According to the Atharvavedins", pp. 419.

30. Indicatively, J. Gonda offered an interpretation of the word "*diśaḥ*", which occurred in the text, not merely as cardinal points but as quarters oriented south, east and north. That usage was characteristic of monuments of the Vedic era and fixed, in particular, in the *Brāhmaṇas*. See: *ŚBr.* II.4.4.24.

31. We ought to remark here that the *pūrvaraṅga* included another several stages. They all - mainly the *tanḍava*, Śiva's orgiastic dance - continued the theme of destruction of the ritual space, with the exception of the concluding stage, the *prarocana* which was connected with an apotheosis of the drama that followed the *pūrvaraṅga*. For the symbolic meaning of the final stages of the *pūrvaraṅga*, see : N. Lidova. *Drama and Ritual of Early Hinduism*, pp. 16-19.

32. See : *Rauravāgama*, édition critique par N. R. Bhatt. Publications de l'Institut Français d'Indologie. Three volumes, No. 18.1-3. Pondichéry, Institut Français d'Indologie, 1961, 1972, 1988; *Mrgendrāgama (Kriyāpāda et Caryāpāda)*, avec le commentaire de Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇakanṭha. Edition critique par N. R. Bhatt. Publications de l'Institut Français d'Indologie, Pondichery, Institut Français d'Indologie, Vol. 1, 1962. *Ajītāgama*. Edition critique par N. R. Bhatt. Publications de l'Institut Français d'Indologie.

- Three volumes, No. 24.1-3. Pondichéry, Institut Français d'Indologie, 1964, 1967, 1991.
34. See: J. Gonda. "The Indra Festival According to the Atharvavedins", pp. 416.
35. For details, see: N. Lidova. *Drama and Ritual of Early Hinduism*, pp. 59-93.
36. See : A. S. Chatterjee. *Ancient Indian Literary and Cultural Tradition*. Calcutta, 1974, pp. 161-176; V. Raghavan. *Festivals, Sports and Pastimes of India*. Ahmedabad, 1979; K. L. Merrey. "The Hindu Festival Calendar", *Religious Festivals in South India and Śri Lanka*. Ed. by G. R. Welbon and G. E. Yocum. New Delhi, 1982.
37. About *Vimāna* see: D. K. Kanjilal. *Vimāna in Ancient India (Aeroplanes or Flying Machines in Ancient India)*. Calcutta, 1985.
38. The *Nāṭyaśāstra* points at bamboo as the best plant for the *jarjara*. It was to be of certain height; have five joints naturally formed as it grew, and four not very strongly pronounced rings at the joints, without any sprouts throughout the length. A plant with worm-eaten inside or joints did not qualify. See : *NS*. 23.156-161.
39. *aparedyustathā cāsyāḥ kriyate ucchrayo nrpaiḥ/
alamṛktāyāḥ pītakairgandhairmālyaiśca bhūṣanaiḥ/*
40. *mālyadāmaparikṣiptā vidhivatḥkriyate pi ca//*
41. A number of monuments preserve descriptions of the *dīkṣā*. It is fairly close to the *Nāṭyaśāstra* rituals in structure and symbolism. The *dīkṣā* needed the same simple devices and utensils as the *maṇḍala* inscribed on the ground, an earthenware jug placed in its centre, and white flowers strewn in the process of the ritual. All those are basic components which are present, in the various combinations, in later, mediaeval temple *pūjā* rituals, however sophisticated might be the forms they accepted. More than that, underlying the *pūjā* rituals was one and the same ritual pattern based on a circle oriented on the four cardinal points, an exalted sacral vertical, and sacrifice of flowers and fragrances. As comparison of the ritual shows, that ritual scheme emerged even at the earliest developmental stage of the cult to come up later on as model for the formation of the various *pūjā* rituals.
42. It concerns a well-known post-Vedic concept of the four Lokapālas, which regarded Indra as patron of the east, Varuṇa west, Yama south and Dhanada, or Kubera, north.

Kāśinātha Upādhyāya

S. G. Moghe

Kāśinātha Upādhyāya alias Bābā Pādhye is the famous author of the *Dharma-Sindhu*, the leading work in the matter of religious observances in the Deccan. His family hailed from Golavali, a village in the Ratnagiri District. He was a Karhādā Brāhmaṇa and had the *joshi* and *upadhye vṛtti* of 72 villages in the Sangameshvara Taluka of the Ratnagiri District. He was the son of Ananta.

Though the title of the work is called as '*Dharma-Sindhu*', it is described as *Dharma-Sindhu-Sāra* at the end of several sections of the work. Hence it would be but proper to accept the title '*Dharma-Sindhu-Sāra*'. If this title is accepted, then it would mean that this work gives 'Essence of the ocean of Dharma (Śāstra)'. This would be in keeping with the treatment of the topics.

It must be admitted that the *Dharma-Sindhu-Sāra* is a digest of a very different nature. In the Dharma-Śāstra, we have the Smṛtis, Dharma-Sūtras, commentaries on the Smṛtis and the Dharma-Sūtras and the independent digest works. The commentators of the Smṛtis or the Dharma-sūtras try to explain the text in their own way. But the digest authors bring together the contradictory passages by quoting several Smṛti passages and try to resolve the conflict by resorting to the *Mīmāṃsā* rules of interpretation or determining the scope of the particular text.

In the *Dharma-Sindhu-Sāra*, one finds that the treatment given to the topics is totally different. Here one will not find several texts quoted by the author. But whatever are the established conclusions on the specifically discussed topics are stated by consulting the previously published digest works of *Nirṇaya-Sindhu* of Kamalākara-bhaṭṭa, *Mayūkha* of Nīlakaṇṭha, Mādhavācārya's commentary on the *Parāśara Smṛti* and several other works. Hence it would be more correct to say that the present work is an abridged work of the larger digests on the Dharma-Śāstra. Kāśinātha Upādhyāya states the conclusions either in his own language or sometimes, as noted by Kane, by quoting the lines from the *Nirṇaya-Sindhu*. As this work gives us the essence of the conclusions of the larger digest works, it would be apt to describe it as '*Dharma-Sindhu-Sāra*.'

Kāśinātha Upādhyāya is also the author of the *Prāyaścittenduśekhara*, *Vedastuti* in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, and *Viṭṭhala-ṛṃamantrasāra-bhāṣya*. As noted by Kane in his *History of Dharma-Śāstra* Vol. I/II p. 977, Kāśinātha

seems to be a devotee of Viṭṭhala at Pandharapur in the Sholapur District. He believes that in the Ṛg-Vedic *mantras*, there is the description of the god Viṭhobā or Viṭṭhala.

Recently Usha R. Bhise contributed a paper on 'Some unknown works of Kāśinātha Upādhyāya' to the MM. Dr. P. V. Kane Centenary Volume brought out by the Asiatic Society of Bombay in the year 1980. In this article, Bhise points out that there are three works - *Bodhadviradapadyāvalī*, *Viṭṭhala-dhyāna-Mānasa-pūjā* and *Śayanotsavakrama* - in the Moropant Paradkar Collection of Manuscripts presented to the University of Bombay. These works are available in the manuscript form. Thanks to Usha Bhise for publishing these works in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bombay*, Vol. Nos. 52-53 for 1977-78, covering pages 55 to 74. Here it must be mentioned that the first one i. e. *Bodhadviradapadyāvalī* is the typical Bhūpālī in the Marathi language. S. Y. Wakankar has already pointed out the Bhūpālī of Shri Acyutarai Modak and Vāsudevānanda Sarasvatī (1854-1954) has also written '*Datta-Prabodha-Bhūpālī*' to arouse god Datta from the sleep. Attention of the readers is further drawn to the article of Usha Bhise, for details in the works of Kāśinātha Upādhyāya. In passing, it may be noted that in Kane's *History of Dharma-Śāstra*, there is no mention of these works because the catalogue of the Moropanta Collection of manuscripts prepared by Usha Bhise was published after the revision of the first volume of the *History of Dharma-Śāstra* by Kane.

On behalf of the Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series, Poona, the *Prāyaścittendu-śekhara*, originally written by Nāgojibhaṭṭa, but revised and enlarged by Kāśinātha Upādhyāya is published in the year 1931 as the series No. 100. This work covers printed 88 pages. This is further followed by a small chapter written by Kāśinātha Upādhyāya. This is technically known as the '*Sarva-prāyaścitta-Prayoga*'. The procedural details of this *prayoga* cover printed 88-95 pages. These two important works of Kāśinātha Upādhyāya, have escaped the eagle eye of Kane. Though the work was published in the year 1931, Kane's attention was not drawn to this work at the time of the revision of the first Volume of the *History of Dharma-Śāstra*.

In his *Dharma-Sindhu-Sāra*, Kāśinātha Upādhyāya has quoted the works such as *Smṛtyartha-Sāra* p. 236, Vijñāneśvara p. 452, Hemādri pp. 26, 27, 101, 508, 534, 545, 582, etc., Mādhavācārya pp. 437, 539, 566, Kamalākarabhaṭṭa, the author of *Nimāya-Sindhu* pp. 259, 288, 290, 362, 363, 456 etc., Medhātīthi on the *Manu-Smṛti* p. 581, Nilakaṇṭhabhaṭṭa or the author of the *Mayūkhas-* 260, 363, etc., *Smṛtikaustubha* pp. 140, 145, 152, 154, 240, 286, 288, 313, 316, 360, 511, etc., *Mātrdatta* p. 284, *Puruṣārtha-Cintāmaṇi*, 36, 56, etc., *Manu-Smṛti* pp. 238, 290, *Rājamārtanda* of Bhoja p. 298 etc.

Generally, it is the style of the digest authors to introduce *Mīmāṃsā* rules of interpretation for resolving the conflicts of the contradictory texts of *Dharma-Śāstra*. Though Kāśīnātha Upādhyāya has not personally introduced the *Mīmāṃsā* rules of interpretation, yet whatever *Mīmāṃsā* doctrines are utilised by the other digest-authors are used by him in the course of his discussion. This can be illustrated by referring to the terms such as *Tantra* p. 548, *Vidhi-Niṣedha* p. 451-52, *Pratipradhānam Guṇavṛttih*, p. 221, *Pratinidhi nyāya* p. 239, *Upalakṣaṇam* p. 46, *Punarvacana* p. 545, *Kāṇḍānusamaya* p. 566, *Padārthānusamaya* p. 570 etc.

As regards the topics discussed in the *Dharma-Sindhu-Sāra*, it may be noted that the author has dealt with several aspects of *Dharma-Śāstra* such as *Ācāra*, *Prāyaścitta*, *Samaya*, *Samskāra*, *Śrāddha*, *Dāna*, *Śuddhi*, *Utsarga*, *Pratiṣṭhā*, *Śānti* - very briefly. He has slightly touched the *Vyavahāra* aspect of the *Dharma-Śāstra* with a particular reference to the *Dattaka* son, his varieties, marriage in respect of the position of the *dattaka* son etc. Possibly, the author might not have thought it proper to deal with the *Vyavahāra* aspect of *Dharma-Śāstra*, indicating the nature of the suits, petitioners, respondents, written statement, witnesses, validity of the documents etc, for the internal reason that Padhye family lost a case in the Darbar of Peshwas, on the point of the Joshi and Upadhye Vṛtti—between the two families of Joshi and Padhye.

Kāśīnātha Upādhyāya has also clarified his standpoint in writing this work. This work is written to satisfy the needs of the common people in respect of the debatable matters of daily observances. He has particularly avoided hairsplitting discussion and the use of the *Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā* doctrines as this work is already done by the giants in the field of *Dharma-Śāstra* like Kamalākarabhaṭṭa, Nīlakaṇṭha, Hemādri and others. It is true tht Kane² has made abundant use of the views of the *Dharma-Sindhu*, in his *History of Dharma-Śāstra*, for allowing a wife to use Vedic *mantras* for the funeral ceremony of a husband, *samānodakas* to observe impurity for three days and *sagoṭra* to observe for one day, there is the absence of *aśauca* i. e. impurity, for the soldier died on the battle-field, *samkalpa* for the *Mahālaya-śrāddha*; great merit arises when one takes bath in the waters of the river Godāvārī when the Jupiter enters into the sign of Leo, the *sapinda* relationship arises like the leap of a frog, the marriage with a maternal uncle's daughter is supported by the Vedic authority; and if the person has many wives, then all the wives will be the mothers of his sons; the brothers of their wives will be the maternal uncles, the sisters of such wives will be the mother's sisters for the sons etc. and the importance of the *svastivācana*, *puṇyāhvācana* and the *mātrkāpūjana* are necessary for the *Jātakarma-samskāra*, etc.

Now I take this opportunity to highlight some of the special views of

Dharma-Sindhu-Sāra as his contribution to the thought development in the domain of *Dharma-Sāstra*.

He specially held³ that a son deserves to be called a good son, if he obeys his father during his life-time, performs his *śrāddha* every year and also makes the donation of ample food to the *brāhmaṇas* apart from the meagre food that is distributed at the time of the *śraddha* ceremony.

He further pointed out that at times, (according to some) the *Madhuparka*⁴ is given to a person about to die. This view has escaped the eye of Kane.

Though it is not binding on a person to perform the *Śrāddha* ceremony of his grandfather (whose son is not alive) if he performs it, it will bring excessive fruit⁵ for him.

If at the time of the *śrāddha* ceremony, inquiry is made about the distribution of salt, then it is said⁶ that the dead ancestors go away from that place.

When the *gotra* of a person is not known, it is said that *Kāśyapa* is the *gotra* of such a person. This is the accepted view in the *Dharma-Sāstra* literature. But Kāśinātha Upādhyāya specially held the view⁷ that *Kāśyapa* is said to be the *gotra* of all the *sūdras*.

Now-a-days, there is a practice of performing the *Grahayajña* for any pacificatory rite and when the house is newly built. But Kāśinātha Upādhyāya specifically held the view⁸ that the *graha-makha* is absolutely necessary when the pacificatory rite is performed on the constellations. In the case of other *Śāntis*, it naturally follows that the performance of the *graha-makha* is not at all, necessary.

As regards the holiday in the Vedic study, he was of the view⁹ that this applies to the teaching of the Vedic portion and committing the Vedic portion to memory. This rule is not to be applied to the study of six auxiliary sciences, like *Śikṣā*, *Kalpa*, *Vyākaraṇa* etc., for reading of the *Mahābhārata* and *Purāṇa* or for the *nitya* muttering of the *mantras* and *kāmya* acts and for the *pārāyaṇa* of a particular book.

He was of the opinion¹⁰ that though the marriage of the eldest son has not taken place, yet a younger daughter may be married. But when the thread ceremony or the *Upanayana* of the eldest son has not taken place, the younger daughter is not to be married.

For the adoption of a son, he was of the view that a son should either be of the same *varṇa* or of the same *gotra*. In this respect, he has not given any consideration to the view of Medhātithi on the *Manu-Smṛti* that a *brāhmaṇa* can adopt a *ksatriya* boy.

He further held that when a *sagotra* and *sapiṇḍa dattaka* son is not available, then a person whose initiation ceremony has taken place and also has married, can be adopted as a *dattaka* son.

He personally held the view¹¹ that even a married person can be adopted, provided there is no son born to him.

When any wife prefers immolation on the death of her husband, the question arises whether the *śrāddha* ceremony of such a woman is to be performed on the same *tithi* on which the husband died or on other *tithi*. Kāśīnātha Upādhyāya refers to the view of some who held that it should be performed on the same *tithi*. But Kāśīnātha Upādhyāya points¹² out that this is possible only if there is a short interval between the death of a husband and a wife. But if, however, there is the interval of two or three days, then the *śrāddha* of both of them cannot be performed on the same *tithi*. As the question of immolation of a *satī* is out of consideration for the modern people, this view that is expressed by him has naturally become time-barred. However, for the thought development of the Dharma-Śāstra aspects, its importance can hardly be gainsaid.

In conclusion, Kāśīnātha Upādhyāya is the author of some other works other than the *Dharma-Sindhu-Sāra*; his work gives us the essence of the *Dharma-Śāstra* digests, he has consulted good many digest works and *smṛtis* for giving the essence of the *Dharma-Śāstra*; he has dealt with almost all the aspects of *Dharma-Śāstra* except perhaps the omission of the *Vyavahāra* aspect of *Dharma-Śāstra*; Kane has consulted this digest abundantly for the monumental work '*History of Dharma-Śāstra*'; he has also contributed some special views on some important aspects of *Dharma-Śāstra*, as noted above by the author of this note, against the background of the vast *Dharma-Śāstra* works.

* References are to the edition of the *Dharma-Sindhu* with Hindi Translation published by the Venkateshvara Press, Bombay, in the year 1961.

Notes and References

1. *Dharma-Sindhu-Sāra*, stanzas 6 and 8 on page 709.
2. P. V. Kane, *History of Dharma-Śāstra*, Vol. IV. pp. 236, 245, 249, 275, 288, 299, 319, 502, 535, 536 etc. and the fifth Volume.
3. *Dharma-Sindhu Sāra* p. 675.
4. क्वचिन्सुमूर्षोर्मधुपर्कदानमुक्तम् । *Ibid.* p. 647.
5. *Ibid.* p. 676.
6. *Ibid.* p. 577.

7. केचित् सर्वप्रजानां काश्यपत्वात् सर्वशूद्राणां काश्यपगोत्रम् । *Ibid.* p. 457.
8. इतरशांतिषु ग्रहमखो नावश्यकः ।
Ibid. p. 264.
9. *Ibid.* p. 323.
10. *Ibid.* p. 315.
11. *Ibid.* p. 241.
12. न तु द्विन्यादितिथिव्यवधाने ।
Ibid. p. 597.

Re-presenting The Courtesanal Tradition:

An Exploration of Early Historical Texts

Kumkum Roy

I

It is indeed a great privilege to share some ideas with members of the Asiatic Society, Bombay. The institution has had a long and distinguished history, and I am very grateful for this opportunity to be present on what is a special occasion, remembering Smt. Nabadurga Banerjee.* Her grandson, Arup Banerjee, is a colleague who remembers her as someone who was an avid reader, and who told stories, recounting myths and legends, bringing them to life through vivid narratives. As one knows from experience, telling a gripping story seems almost deceptively simple, and yet, the skills prove elusive for most of us. And even as we wrestle with words and expressions in order to recreate the magic of the well-told story, we acknowledge its powers of quiet persuasion.

Here, I will not even attempt to tell a story, as I know how difficult and even disastrous that can be. What I hope to do instead is to draw attention to a category of skilled, articulate women in early India whose existence often causes us a sense of unease. What I would suggest is that their presence needs to be acknowledged, and if possible, understood.

While summarizing the plot of the *Mrcchakatika* in what has served as a standard translation for university students, M. R. Kale (1988, xxx) observed that Vasantasenā was “an exquisitely beautiful *but* pure-minded courtesan” (italics mine). In a sense, this encapsulates the tension and ambivalence *vis-à-vis* the courtesanal tradition that runs through our contemporary concerns. Scholars who have explored the ancient tradition have been few and far between. Some of these explorations have been almost voyeuristic (e.g., Moti Chandra 1973). Others have developed the notion of the courtesan/prostitute as victim of oppressive / exploitative social relations (e. g., Sukumari Bhattacharji 1999). What I hope to do is to re-open some of these issues by working through a few texts that focus on the courtesanal tradition, amongst other things, to suggest that there may be ways of moving beyond the sharply polarized

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perspectives that have characterized attempts to understand the tradition.

A possible strategy for moving away from the polarization that I have outlined in rather simplistic terms is to contextualize our analysis along at least two possible axes. One is the location of courtesans within what may loosely be defined as economic transactions. There have been suggestions that our understanding of class needs to take into account not only relations of production, but those of distribution and consumption as well, which need not necessarily coincide with those of production (Acker 1988). In fact, what distinguishes the courtesan from other women (and many men) is her association with wealth, and with material transactions. Some of these are represented as gift exchanges, where the courtesan figures as both donor and donee in different contexts, while in other instances, the transactions figure as wages for services rendered. What is also perhaps significant is that the distinction between these two is occasionally blurred.

The second axis that may prove fruitful is to locate representations of courtesans within the contemporary socio-political context. We will examine evidence on the household and the support network of the courtesan, her relationship with clients, and with royalty. These can be viewed as intersecting relations of power. While we can understand these relations in terms of hierarchical structures, there may have been possibilities of reworking positions within them in situations of day-to-day interaction. To some extent, the kind of exchanges I have just outlined can be viewed as strategies for claiming or contesting socio-political status.

I will attempt to develop my argument by focusing on three texts within which courtesans acquire a distinct visibility. These are the *Kāmasūtra* (KS), especially the sixth section titled *vaiśika*, the *Mṛcchakatika*, where the courtesan figures centrally as the *nāyikā*, and the Jātaka stories of the Buddhist tradition.

The *Kāmasūtra* is, as has been stated often enough, a normative text, claiming śāstric status, and implicitly if not explicitly contextualized in terms of the *śāstras* on *dharma* and *artha*. The *Mṛcchakatika* on the other hand, is located within traditions of Sanskrit drama, while the *Jātakas* are perhaps the closest we can come to reconstructing "popular" perceptions in the early Indian context. Although there are obvious problems in handling texts that are distinctly different in content as well as in form, there is the advantage of being able to examine the theme from a variety of perspectives. To some extent, this opens up possibilities of arriving at a more nuanced understanding.

To delineate the typical features of each text briefly: the *Kāmasūtra* consists of relatively short, often cryptic statements, literally threads or *sūtras* in Sanskrit prose. Each chapter, however, concludes with a set of verses, and elsewhere (Roy 1998) I have argued that these may have had a distinct role in processes

of transmission. The simplified message of the verses may have been open to a wider audience than the terse *sūtras*, whose interpretation probably required an understanding of the formal śāstric structure.

In terms of space and time, the text has been ascribed to north India, c. 2nd-4th centuries CE (Bhattacharyya 1975: xii, Trautmann 1971: 6). Although it is traditionally attributed to Vātsyāyana, it is in all likelihood a composite work. The text begins with a genealogy of transmission of knowledge. This can and has been recognized as a standard device for staking claims to authority found in a number of Sanskrit texts. The strategy is somewhat obvious in the case of the *Kāmasūtra*, where the text is supposed to derive from Prajāpati, the creator god. The tradition then descends rather curiously through Nandi, Śiva's mount, to Śvetaketu of Upaniṣadic fame, and is then abridged for the consumption of lesser mortals (*Kāmasūtra* I.1.5ff.)¹

What is interesting is the role courtesans or *ganikās* are supposed to have played in its compilation. We are told that Dattaka summarized the *vaiśika* section in consultation with the *ganikās* of Pāṭaliputra (KS 1.1.11). There is a hint that this may have constituted the core of the text, as the other sections are mentioned subsequently. Can we then view the *Kāmasūtra* as one amongst a number of texts that bear marks of appropriation? I have in mind the epics, especially the *Mahābhārata*, that were evidently part of bardic lore, transmitted by *sūtas*, whose traditions were apparently brahmanized / Sanskritized over a period of time.

The *vaiśika* section of the text is in fact somewhat intriguing, especially in its present location, as the sixth part of a work that runs into seven, rather unevenly constituted sections. In the rest of the text, it is the *nāyaka* or male protagonist, often equated with the *nāgaraka* or urbane man, who is the central figure, with the text being explicitly designed for his benefit. As I have argued elsewhere (Roy 1998), most sections of the text can be envisaged in terms of a series of concentric circles emanating from the *nāyaka/nāgaraka*. He is conceived as the centre of a universe that includes his heterosexual partner. Their asymmetrical relationship is then contextualized in terms of a larger unit, the polygynous household. This in turn is located within a wider social context where men at the top of the socio-political hierarchy, such as the king, are visualized as possessing virtually unrestricted access to women.

In the *vaiśika* section, by contrast, we encounter two major reversals in the dominant perspective of the text. On the one hand the focus shifts from the *nāyaka* to the *ganikā*. At another level, while desire or *kāma* is acknowledged as important, there is also a shared if not dominant focus on profit or *artha*. We can argue that this somewhat incongruous shift perhaps opens up possibilities for exploring the text as being derived from courtesanal lore and practice.

The date of the *Mṛcchakatika* has been the subject of endless dispute. This is not something that I can even presume to resolve. But what I would suggest, and this is not particularly original (e. g. Kale 1988: xxviii), is that the representation of Buddhism as a thriving religious tradition in the text would point to a relatively early date. In other words, I work with the understanding that it pertains to the early historical period. To this we may add that the stated locale of the play, Ujjayini, is one of the most important centres of urbanism in early India.

The attributed author, Śūdraka, remains an enigmatic figure, although he is identified as a king, perhaps a Sātavāhana ruler. What is interesting is that amongst his accomplishments are knowledge of the *Ṛgveda* and *Sāmaveda*, as well as mathematics (*ganita*), the arts (*kalā*), *vaiśikī* (courtisanal lore) and skills in elephant training (Act. I: verse 6).² Even if the introductory section that provides us this impressive bio-data is a later interpolation, it suggests that later compilers / those who transmitted and preserved the text considered it imperative to claim that it was the work of a versatile genius.

While we can view the text as charting a somewhat linear transition of the public woman into a domesticated wife, and this is, at one level true, the trajectory is by no means simple. What lends it a certain critical significance is the multiple ways in which the central figure, Vasantasenā, is represented. Stated briefly, we see Vasantasenā from her own perspective, from that of her attendants and mother, from that of her lover Cārudatta and his companions, including his wife and son, as well as from that of her suitor and the villain of the piece, Śākāra. These representations are, moreover, verbalized through a variety of strategies: 'high' Sanskrit verse, less exalted Sanskrit prose, and Prakrit, including the malapropisms attributed to Śākāra. It is this complexity that permits us to open up the text for historical analysis.

Turning to the *Jātakas*,³ their compilation as available at present has been dated to the 5th century CE, although inscriptional evidence and sculptural representations would suggest that some of the stories were known as early as the third century BCE (Roy 1996). The stories are extremely varied in terms of length and theme. Further, the compilation is layered, including the *gāthā* or verse that is commonly regarded as canonical and the prose narratives that situate and often explain the *gāthā*. These narratives in turn are conventionally classified into the stories of the past, whose narration is attributed to the Buddha, and in which he figures as a Bodhisattva, and the stories of the present. The latter delineate the context in which the Buddha embarks on recounting the past. Finally, we have a concluding section that draws parallels between the past and the present.

Inevitably, women figure in the narratives. In a different context (Roy 1996), I have argued that the *Jātakas* included stories that were gripping and popular,

which were often reworked with a Buddhist veneer, and were an important means of communicating with both lay and religious communities. The adulterous woman figures frequently in this narrative strategy, partly because she may have been viewed as newsworthy, but also as a warning to men and women in the *sarīgha*, (and perhaps outside as well), where celibacy was the norm. Some of the characterizations of women are clearly stereotypical. What is interesting, however, is that while we do have stories about courtesans, they are not stereotyped as adulterous, or even as women with insatiable sexual appetites. The relative absence of stereotyping, and the creation, transmission and preservation of varied representations is perhaps significant and allows us to move beyond the tedious and monotonous discussions of “women’s nature.”

Implicit in our attempt to examine textual strategies and contents is the question of audience. As we have seen, the *Kāmasūtra* may represent a process of converting courtesanal lore into a *śāstra*, as some of the contents were in all likelihood derived from courtesanal practice. We can only speculate on what the compulsions for this may have been, as also on its effectiveness. But what we can perhaps suggest is that in its *śāstric* form the very structure of the text may have rendered it relatively inaccessible to all but a limited urban elite that could have included only some courtesans.

Somewhat different issues are raised when we turn to the *Mrcchakatika*. We can suggest that if the play was actually staged, which seems plausible, the contents of the text would have been on display for a fairly large audience. In this context, we may recall the use of simple Sanskrit and Prakrit in the text. While there are sections in the Sanskrit *kāvya* format, these are relatively restricted (e.g. Act V: verses 12 to 35). As such, most of the dialogue would have been accessible to sections of the population that were not necessarily well versed in Sanskrit. This would have included common men and women, including, perhaps, non-elite sex workers and their clients.

Turning finally to the *Jātakas*, these comprise of tales in simple Pali, which could probably have been widely disseminated. In other words, the representations embedded in the stories were accessible to a wide and diverse audience.

Does the nature of the potential audience shape strategies of representation? This is a possibility that we need to keep in mind as we explore the similarities and differences that emerge from a more detailed comparison of the texts.

II

We may begin by outlining the broad contours of the economy in north

and central India in the early historic period. This was a phase when urban centres, many of which emerged from the 6th century BCE onwards, were flourishing. These were the nuclei of early states, and were also nodal centres for craft production. Many of them emerged as centres for religious traditions such as Buddhism and Jainism. Long-distance networks of trade and communication ran through the cities, traversed by monks and merchants.

In rural areas, we have evidence for a highly differentiated agrarian society, ranging from wealthy absentee landlords, to more or less prosperous peasants, to tenant cultivators, with agricultural labourers and slaves at the bottom of the hierarchy. Towns, likewise, were populated with diverse social groups, ranging from rulers and rich *setthis* on the one hand, to craftsmen, artisans, and ordinary men and women who came to make their fortune in a new setting on the other.

As may be expected, the systems of exchange that developed were necessarily complex. We have evidence for the use of a wide range of coins that surface in the archaeological record, pointing to a relatively high level of monetization. Goods and services were evidently bought and sold on a large scale. At another level, texts point to the development of mechanisms of taxation, suggesting the consolidation of state power. At the same time, we have indications of the continued importance of gift exchanges. While these may have seemed superficially similar to earlier transactions, they probably acquired a new significance in a situation of social mobility. They could have served as a means of establishing and consolidating social relations. Where gifts were made to religious institutions, moreover, they were probably a means of claiming social status.

Within this complex scenario, women are absent as participants from most transactions. There are virtually no references to women traders, or women taxpayers. Where women do surface are in gift exchanges, as both subjects and objects, and far more routinely, in the context of remunerative sex work.

Within this context, there were marked differences amongst women who earned their livelihood by rendering sexual services. This is best exemplified in the list at the end of the *vaiśika* section of the *Kāmasūtra* (KS. VI.6.50). This begins from the lowest rung, with the *kumbhadāsī* (literally the watercarrier / slave woman), goes on to the *paricārikā* or servant, includes the *kulatā* or unchaste woman, the *svairinī* or self-willed woman, the *naṭī* or dancer, *śīlpakārikā* or craftswoman, the *prakāśavināṣṭā* who had lost her chastity, the *rūpajīvā*, who depended on her physical charms, and the *gaṇikā*, placed at the top of the hierarchy.

It is evident that this list attempts to combine economic and socio-sexual criteria as markers of status. In terms of access to resources and the exchanges

in which they could participate, there would obviously have been no comparison between the *kumbhadāsī* on the one hand, and the *ganikā* on the other. At another level, the list suggests that women workers, including servants and craftswomen, could be subjected to demands for sexual services. Besides, women who violated traditions of monogamy were also incorporated within the list. What is obvious is that the courtesans were not a monolithic category: there was an enormous amount of socio-economic differentiation within the broad classification. Expectedly, it is the highest-ranking courtesans who are most visible within the tradition, especially in the *Kāmasūtra*.

Given the stylistic and formal simplicity of the *Jātakas*, we find a less complicated classification in the *Jātakas*. In fact, the two categories that find frequent mention are the *vanna dāsī* or slave woman who was expected to render sexual service and the *nagaraśobhanī* (literally the adornment of the city). These may approximate to the *kumbha dāsī* and the *ganikā* of the *Kāmasūtra* respectively.⁴ Stories represent the *vanna dāsī* as operating on her own, as well as forming part of the retinue of the *nagaraśobhanī*, who is typically depicted as charging a fee of a thousand coins and accompanied by an entourage of five hundred *vanna dāsīs*. While the numbers are obviously conventional, they underscore differences in rank that may have been part of common perceptions.

Amongst the others listed in the *Kāmasūtra*, dancers, *nātak-itthī* figure in a somewhat different context in the *Jātakas* (for details, see Section III). What is perhaps more significant is that although the *Jātakas* are replete with stories about women with insatiable sexual appetites, who are routinely held up as exemplifying women's "nature", these women are not represented as being courtesans / sex workers. Neither are women worker / artisans assimilated to the category of those who were expected to render sexual service. In other words, the principles of defining the courtesan are relatively simple in the *Jātakas* in comparison with the *Kāmasūtra*. Here, if anywhere, we encounter a definition in terms of remuneration for sex work.

The differences in perspective that we have outlined find expression in discussions on the material transactions associated with the courtesan as well. If we examine the *Kāmasūtra*, we find that there are at least three levels at which exchanges were recognized as legitimate. Some of these exchanges were symbolic. These would include mutual gifts of betel and flowers (*KS* VI.1.27, 2.11), whose acceptance marked the establishment of relations between the courtesan and her client. Sometimes, the bond could be marked by a more tangible exchange. A man who intended to establish a liaison with a courtesan could do so by giving her an unusual gift (*KS* VI. 1.27), and she could reciprocate by giving him something in exchange.

While the exchange of such gifts was recommended, they evidently masked

more mundane considerations. Thus, from the point of view of the courtesan, the ideal client was expected to be both wealthy and have a predisposition to part with his wealth (*KS* VI.1.10). More specifically, the courtesan was expected to play on the sentiments of men who were prone to flattery, as well as those who had something to hide.

More detailed strategies for the courtesan are listed in the section on ways and means of acquiring wealth (*arthāgama upāya prakaraṇa*, *KS* VI.3). The devices suggested were variations of emotional blackmail. These included pretending to have to pawn her jewels in order to get food, clothes, flowers, perfumes and other necessities for her profession (*KS* VI.3.4), pretending to require resources for "good works" such as building temples and planting trees (*KS* VI 3.6), pretending that she had been robbed or that she was faced with other disasters (*KS* VI.3.7-8). Other strategies included persuading the client to pay for her retinue (*KS* VI.3.13-15), winning his favour by helping his friends and servants, and shaming him into increasing her remuneration by complaining that other women were getting more from other men (*KS* VI. 3.16, 23). The situation envisaged is one of constant, subtle negotiation.

Another situation visualized in the text is that of the woman who had several different clients and decided her fees according to immediate circumstances (*KS* VI.5. 1, 2). The negotiations involved in such short term transactions would have been more overt, and perhaps involved different skills.

The *Kāmasūtra* also lists the kinds of goods courtesans may have received. These include articles of gold, silver, copper, bronze and iron, clothes, perfumes, spices, ghee, oil, grain, and cattle (*KS* VI.5.7).

While some of the resources acquired as gifts could be evidently used to maintain more or less well-furnished establishments, courtesans could also use these to make gifts. If we turn to the *Kāmasūtra*, we find that this could include patronage of religious institutions, constructing tanks, making gifts of cattle to *brāhmaṇas* (*KS* VI.4.28). To some extent, this is corroborated by inscriptional evidence from the early historic period (e.g. Gupta 1999: 146), as well as by the famous legend of Ambāpālī in Buddhist tradition.

The *Kāmasūtra* also lists what may be regarded as occupational hazards in a section titled *artha-anartha anubandha vicāra* (*KS* VI. 6). The specific problems that are listed include excess of expenditure over earning, being abandoned, or sustaining physical injury (*KS* VI. 6.3).

Turning to the *Mṛcchakatika*, we can view it, at one level, as a text that represents an overwhelming preoccupation with the legitimacy or otherwise of exchanges that revolve around the courtesan. This is worked through the

representation of Śākāra as a rich but unworthy client, whose offers are unceremoniously rejected by Vasantasenā. These include rather trivial gifts of food, including meat and fish offered by his servant (Act I. verse 26) as well as far more substantial inducements such as an ornament worth ten thousand pieces of gold (Act IV: 134). Later still, towards the climax of the play, he falls at her feet and offers gold once more, but to no avail (Act VIII: 284).

In more general terms, Śākāra's accomplice, the *vīta*, is represented as advising Vasantasenā to submit to both those who are more or less attractive (Act I: verse 31), because as a *gaṇikā*, her body was on sale *panyabhūta śarīra*. Once again this appeal to the apparent logic of the courtesan's existence is represented as unsuccessful.

Even as Vasantasenā is represented as refusing to oblige a potential client, she is depicted as the mistress of a palatial establishment. Her wealth is represented in all its opulence through the eyes of the *vidūṣaka*, especially in Act IV (pp 156 ff.). The gate, decorated with flowers, ivory, banners, gold and diamonds, is depicted as being sky high, the first quadrangle is dazzling white, with golden stairs, while the second is seen as an elaborate stable, with humdrum animals such as oxen for pulling carts, and others such as rams and monkeys, used for sport, as well as that all important symbol of power, the elephant. Further ahead, the third quadrangle is shown as a space for leisurely, pleasurable activities, including reading, playing, and painting. The next space is one for music and dance, leading into a kitchen, bustling with activity, with every indication of heavenly delicacies being cooked. Further ahead, there are indications of handling and preparing the ingredients of a luxurious life: with jewellery being crafted, sandal paste and betel leaves being prepared, as well as drinks being arranged, while in the seventh quadrangle, there are all kinds of birds, including pigeons, parrots, cuckoos, peacocks and swans. The *vidūṣaka* is represented as regarding this assemblage as comparable to all three worlds encompassed within a single space (*ekastham via tivitthaam dītam* Act IV: 170).

At the same time, he contrasts this unimaginable opulence with the treatment he receives. Vasantasenā accepts the necklace he offers on behalf of Cārudatta, but does not even extend a minimal hospitality (Act V: 150). In this context he is shown as reverting to popular wisdom, according to which a *gaṇikā* who is not greedy is as rare as a lotus plant without a root, and a merchant who does not cheat. Yet, as the playwright has already taken the audience into confidence, we are aware that the *vidūṣaka*'s stereotypical ideas are erroneous.

The treatment of the attempted exchanges between Cārudatta and Vasantasenā is far more complicated. In the very first act Vasantasenā is

represented as handing over her ornaments to Cārudatta (Act I: 62), who hands them over to the *vidūṣaka*. Moreover, the playwright depicts Cārudatta as being reluctant to keep or deposit the precious gift within the domestic space, as it had been used by a *prakāśanārī* (literally a woman who has been exposed, Act III: verse 7). In other words, Vasantasenā's gifts are represented as being unwelcome in the context of the patriarchal household.

The ornaments are then stolen and Cārudatta's wife is shown as selflessly offering her own jewellery to enable her husband to compensate Vasantasenā for the loss (Act II : 128). In this context the playwright represents Cārudatta as reflecting on the reversal of gender roles (Act III : verse 7), where he has been reduced to a woman's role owing to his dependence on his wife's wealth, while she assumes the masculine role. Yet, this reversal is located within the relatively safe space of domesticity, and is thus contained rather than spilling over into an open conflict of interests.

This representation is underscored when the playwright juxtaposes Vasantasenā with Dhūtā, the wife of Cārudatta. Vasantasenā is shown as attempting to return her necklace, but this is politely turned down by Dhūtā, both on the grounds that this is a gift to the courtesan by her husband, and because for her, as wife, her husband is her greatest ornament (Act VI : 216).

This line of argument is brought to its climax in the little vignette that gives the play its name (Act VI : 220) where Vasantasenā is shown as gifting her ornaments in order to get a gold cart made for Cārudatta's son, who initially refuses to accept the offer, as she is crying, but then relents. It is these ornaments that are brought up again in court and lead to Cārudatta being accused of their theft (Act IX : 338 ff.). In other words, the courtesan's gifts are represented as being both unwelcome and a source of trouble.

If the material exchanges between Vasantasenā and Cārudatta are fraught with conflict, she is represented as somewhat more successful in her other transactions. She is successful in freeing a gambler from his debts, and wins him as an ally (Act II : 92). She also allows her maid Madanikā to purchase her freedom (Act IV : verse 24, also p. 150).

It may be unfair to reduce the richly varied representation of the *Mrcchakatika* to a materialistic framework. Nonetheless, we can perhaps trace within it echoes of some of the very real tensions that may have marked the relationships between courtesans and their clients. On the one hand, we have the position of *Śakāra*, who is held up for ridicule for his attempts to purchase pleasure. On the other hand, we have the complicated negotiations between Vasantasenā and Cārudatta, with each trying to outdo the other in generosity. If, as we have suggested earlier, the ability to participate in gift

exchanges as a donor was a marker of status, it is significant that the poor merchant is represented as being able to participate in the process, through the simplest of gestures while Vasantasenā's gifts are, more often than not, gently but firmly deflected from their goal.

The *Jātakas* are less concerned with such complications. Here, the problem of earning a livelihood finds occasional mention in all its stark simplicity. In the Gamani Caṇḍa Jātaka (No. 257) for instance, we find mention of a *ganikā* who can no longer sustain herself. She is represented as sending a message to the king, who responds by pointing out that her problems stem from the fact that she no longer serves the men who pay her, but turns to others instead. There is a sense of an unwritten code being violated in this case. What is stigmatized is the violation rather than the occupation.

A variant on the theme of the impoverished courtesan occurs in the Kurudhamma Jātaka, (No. 276.) which mentions a *vannadāsī* who was reduced to poverty as she had taken money from a client, who had subsequently disappeared. She had not taken any more clients subsequently, as she considered herself bound to serve the man who had paid her. Ultimately, she appealed to the judge of the kingdom, who advised her to revert to her profession in order to survive. What is interesting is that the stories do not follow a unilinear "explanation" - the same condition, i. e. that of the poor courtesan, could be understood and represented in a variety of ways.

Other stories develop the theme of the pragmatic courtesan. These include the Athana Jātaka (No. 425). Here, the courtesan who charges the standard fee of a thousand pieces is represented as getting her maids to drive away a rich merchant, her regular client, who forgets to bring the fees one day. In a typically Buddhist twist to the narrative, the merchant is then depicted as renouncing the world, in spite of attempts to bring him back.

Equally interesting is the representation of the *nagaraśobhanī*, *Kālī*, in the Takkariya Jātaka (No. 481). Like all women of her class, she is shown as earning a thousand pieces a night. She has a dissolute brother, who gambles away her wealth and so she refuses to part with any of it for his benefit. One of her clients, in a fit of benevolence, decides to come to his rescue, by giving him the clothes he gets from Kālī as part of the transaction. Kālī is not impressed, and teaches her client a lesson by not returning his own clothes.

Other stories develop the theme of the courtesan who is betrayed by her lover. In one of these, the Kanavera Jātaka (No. 318), a courtesan named Samā, is represented as saving a robber by sacrificing one of her clients instead. He apprehends that the same fate is in store for him, so he runs away, and does not return in spite of her best efforts. In the version in the

Sulasā Jātaka (No. 419), the resolution of the story is somewhat different. Here, the rescued robber is represented as deciding to escape with her jewels. Sulasā is shown as foiling the plan by pretending to touch his feet, but actually knocking him off a precipice.

It is evident that the representations of courtesans in the Jātakas are not stereotypical. Further, the material transactions they engage in are depicted in unambiguous, non-judgmental terms. What is also significant is the preoccupation with gift exchanges.

Can we suggest that these varied representations emanated from different socio-sexual classes? This is a possibility that we need to keep in mind as we attempt to locate the transactions we have outlined within a broader context.

III

The networks of consumption and distribution that we have focused on can be located within a complex, socio-political context. To return to the *Kāmasūtra*, we have noted that the *vaiśika* section focuses centrally on the *ganikā*, who, in this context, replaced the *nāyaka*. At the same time, the *ganikā* was not a mirror image of the *nāyaka*. Unlike the latter, she was envisaged as working within a support network consisting of her *sahāya* or assistants (*KS* VI. 1.8.9). These are detailed to include a guard (*āraṅsaka*), legal advisors (*dharmādhikāraṅastha*), fortune tellers (*daivajña*), the *pīthamarda*, *viṭa*, and the *vidūṣaka*, as well as merchants, shopkeepers, etc. All of these were expected to assist her in both recruiting and dismissing clients (*KS* VI.3.40-44). In other words, her support derived from a range of administrative functionaries, as well as from commercial establishments, and from others who earned their livelihood from what were construed as pleasurable activities. At another level, the text provides for control to be exercised by the mother (*KS* VI.2.2) who was expected to guard the material interests of her daughter, and intervene if the latter developed an attachment to a single lover (*KS* VI.2.3-6).

To some extent, this is replicated in the *Mrcchakatika*, where Vasantasenā's elaborate household includes the *ceṭī* or maid, and her mother (Act II : 66), who is represented in rather gross terms (Act IV : verse 30). Others included in her entourage are the *viṭa* and *chatradhārikā* (Act V : 200) as well as the *bandhula* of uncertain parentage (Act IV : 154).

The mother is represented as having a certain degree of control over the establishment, and appears in court when her daughter is missing (Act IX : 320). Here, she mentions Cārudatta as her daughter's friend, and provides

the audience with his genealogy. One gets a sense of a woman wise in the ways of the world. We are also introduced to Vasantasenā's brother through the eyes of the *vidūṣaka* (Act IV : verse 29) who is somewhat envious of his wealth, but also considers this as worthless as a *campaka* tree blooming in a cremation ground.

What differentiates the household of the courtesan from the more conventional one then is its matrilineal format, as well as its opulence. There is another level at which we sense a difference. There is the code of pleasing all and sundry, and Vasantasenā is shown as wondering whether, because they are meant to deal with many men, they tend to be pleasant rather than honest (Act IV : 132). In a sense, the thought is echoed in a prayer that the playwright inserts through the lament of the *viṭa*, who assumes that Vasantasenā is dead (Act VIII : verse 43) and hopes that she would not be reborn as a *veśyā*, but because of her virtuous character, (*cāritrya guṇa sampannā*), she should be born in a "pure family" (*vimala kula*).

In the *Kāmasūtra*, we are told that the man who was solicited was expected to be wealthy, ambitious, learned, skilled in the various arts, healthy, virile, etc., while the woman was expected to be beautiful, desirous of physical union, charming, skilled in the arts, far sighted, intelligent, bereft of attributes like anger, greed, etc. (*KS* VI. 1. 10-14). While these qualities are not entirely symmetrical, the enumeration of the ideal requirements of both partners in the transaction contrasts significantly with that envisaged in the context of marriage. Here, the focus is entirely on the woman, who is to be ideally of a "good" family, younger than the bridegroom, docile, and free from all physical disabilities (*KS* III.1.2,10,11).

Could the relative equality between the partners within the domain of the courtesan extend to the world outside? Here, the *Mrcchakatika* both confirms and contests this ideal scenario. Here, we find a wide variety of terms used to designate a single woman, Vasantasenā. The playwright introduces her to the audience through the eyes of Śākāra, the king's brother-in-law, who is represented as a Prakrit speaking boorish figure. In the very first Act (verse 23), Śākāra is shown as describing her as a whip, a fish eater, a dancer (*lasikā*), one without a nose, a destroyer of families (*kulanāśikā*), one who is beyond control (*avaśikā*), a casket of desire (*kamassa manjūsikā*), a *vesā bahu* who lives in the *vesānilaya*, as a *vesārganā* and a *vesā*. One can see that the list includes a range of what were viewed as undesirable habits, or even physical attributes, and is rather tedious and unimaginative in the repetitive use of the term *vesā*. In fact, by the time Śākāra is shown as describing Vasantasenā, the audience has been informed that he is a fool, as he compares Vasantasenā in his grip to Kunti in the clutches of Rāvaṇa (Act I : verse 21), displaying his glaring ignorance of well-known epic traditions.

It is in this light that we can assess the response of the audience to his derogatory references to her as a *gabbha dāsī* (Act I : 38) or as a *dāsīe dhiye*, the daughter of a slave woman (e. g., Act I : 46).⁵

In a different context, and in his desperate attempt to seduce her, Śakāra is shown as addressing Vasantasenā as mother, *ambike* (Act VIII : 272). If this ascription of motherhood is meant to seem absurd and even ridiculous to the audience, there is another, more poignant play on the theme. This occurs in the brief encounter between Vasantasenā and the son of Cārudatta, where the maid who is shown as mediating, introduces her as a mother or *jananī* (Act VI : 218). The playwright represents the child as being unconvinced, on the ground that his mother would not have worn ornaments, as Vasantasenā does, when the entire household was reduced to abject poverty.

Another perspective that is opened up in the play is that of the *viṭa*, the reluctant companion of Śakāra in his pseudo-heroic exploits. The *viṭa*, unlike Śakāra, is represented as more cultivated than his master, and speaks in Sanskrit. In one instance (Act I : verse 31) he is shown as addressing Vasantasenā respectfully, using the salutation *bhadre*. Elsewhere (Act I : verse 44), he refers to her as *svādhīnayauvanā*, literally independent young woman, synonymous with courtesan.

Some of these representations are developed through the perspective of Cārudatta. In one instance, he is shown as considering her as a young woman, who deserves to be worshipped as a goddess (Act I : 60). Yet, when summoned to court where he is expected to answer whether the *gaṇikā* is a friend (*mitra*), he is shown as being embarrassed to acknowledge the relationship (Act IX : 326).

This ambivalence is even more marked in the attitude attributed to Cārudatta's closest accomplice, the *vidūṣaka*, conventionally a Prakrit-speaking *brāhmaṇa*, who attempts to dissuade his friend from what he represents as hazardous amorous pursuits. This is most explicitly represented in the scene when the *vidūṣaka* returns from visiting Vasantasenā's palatial residence and is somewhat disappointed at not having been entertained adequately. He is shown as regarding her as a greedy *gaṇikā* (Act V : 180) and condemns her as a *dāsīe dhiye*.

At another level, the playwright offers us what purports to be Vasantasenā's self-perception. In one instance (Act II : 70), she is shown as regarding herself as a *gaṇikā*. Elsewhere, on meeting Cārudatta's son, she is shown as introducing herself as a *dāsī*, (Act VI : 218).

More often than not, those who meet Vasantasenā are represented as using the term for respectful address, *ajjā / āryā*.⁶ These include minor characters such as the *ceṭa*, or servant of Śakāra (Act VIII : 278) who refuses to kill

her, Candanaka the police officer (Act VI : 234), the servant (*ceṭa*) of Cārudatta (Act VI : 230) and the *śarṅvāhaka* or shampooer who was in Cārudatta's service (Act II : 86).⁷ Later, when he joins the monastic order, he is represented as addressing her *buddhovasiyā* (a lay supporter of the Buddha, Act VIII : 300).

There are, however, variations. One of these is located in the representation of Cārudatta's household. Here (Act II : 126), the *ceṭi* or maid of Cārudatta who is deputed to report the theft of Vasantasenā's jewels to his wife, is shown as referring to the courtesan in somewhat less exalted terms, as the *vessājana*.

We may focus very briefly on some of the minor characters within Vasantasenā's household as well. These include Madanikā, her favourite maid and confidante. While her status was clearly subordinate within the household, we find her lover, Śarvilaka, a *brāhmaṇa*, referring to her as a *gaṇikā* (Act III : 118). If anything, this would reinforce our understanding that the playwright was attempting to represent multiple perspectives on the position of the courtesan. We will return to the implication of this multiplicity.

If there is a degree of ambivalence about Vasantasenā's social status, there is none whatsoever about her position as an ideal *gaṇikā*. Her skills and qualities are represented time and again. She is shown as being capable of using Sanskrit (as for instance when she addresses the *vidūṣaka* (Act IV : 32) as well as Prakrit, unlike Cārudatta whose speech is restricted to Sanskrit. Besides, she is described as being well adorned, beautiful, as the adornment of the city, and as innocent in the lament of the *viṭa* who thinks she is dead (Act VIII : verse 38,39).

Cārudatta, on the other hand, is represented as having all the desirable attributes of a *nāyaka*, but, is at the same time, reduced to poverty on account of his generosity. He is like the *kalpavṛkṣa*, the wish-fulfilling tree, to the poor, like a *kuṭumba* or kinsman to the *sajjana* (good), like a mirror to the learned, a touchstone to the virtuous, and an abode of all manly virtues (*puruṣaguṇanidhi*, Act I : verse 48). Besides, he is represented as being handsome (Act IX : verse 16). In fact, even the judge who reluctantly passes a verdict on him is represented as finding it as difficult to condemn Cārudatta as it is to weigh a mountain, swim across the ocean, or catch the wind (Act IX : verse 20).

And yet, he falls short in terms of the one criterion that should weigh with the courtesan : his material resources. As such, he cannot figure in the list of possible clients enumerated by Vasantasenā's maid, Madanikā, which includes the king, the king's favourite, a young learned *brāhmaṇa*, and a young wealthy merchant (Act II : 68).

What the text also documents is the status and prestige of the courtesan. Cārudatta's trial, conducted with reluctance by the judge who is convinced of the impossibility of the charge, ends with the pronouncement of the death sentence, which is then proclaimed throughout the city by the *cāṇḍāla* executioners (Act X : 356). This sentence has no parallels in the śāstric tradition, where Cārudatta would have been spared as a *brāhmaṇa*, and as one who had committed a minor violation in killing an unchaste woman.

How do we account for this anomaly? Is it simply an artistic device, introduced to heighten the tension of what is, in fact a dramatic moment? Yet, what is striking is that it passes without comment: what is highlighted is Śakāra's villainy, rather than the provision of the law. It is almost as if this could be taken for granted as common knowledge.

Can we suggest that there were other norms at work? To some extent, the narratives of the *Jātakas* help us to open up these possibilities. We can begin with the category of the dancing women, mentioned earlier. What we find is that they figure almost routinely, as regular constituents of the realm. They are mentioned, for instance, in the Gāndhāra Jātaka (No. 406), where the realm is represented as consisting of sixteen thousand villages (*solasa gāma sahasaṇi*), with granaries that are filled (*puritāni koṭṭhārāni*), and an equal number of *natakithiya*. In another instance (Kummasapiṇḍa Jātaka, No. 415), those who attend on the king are enumerated as his *amāccas* or ministers, *brāhmaṇas*, *gahapatis*, or heads of households, *nagara manussa*, or the people of the city, and sixteen thousand *natakigana*. In yet another instance (*Suruci Jātaka*, No. 489), we find mention of women who are brought to a childless king in order to help him out. They are listed as a thousand each of *khattiya kannas*, *amacca kannas*, *gahapati and natakithis*. In a further variant, (*Mahājanaka Jātaka*, No. 539) the king is represented as being surrounded by *amācca maṇḍala*, *brāhmaṇagaṇa*, *setthis* and *natakithis* as well as *brāhmaṇasoṭthikaras*.

What do these listings suggest? In the first instance, the *natakithiyas* are obviously an integral part of defining a prosperous realm. In the other instances, they are represented along with groups that are acknowledged as powerful. What is interesting is that they are included in order to create more or less complete lists of those whose support was critical for the king. These include ministers, who probably symbolized the administrative machinery, *khattiyas* and *brāhmaṇas*, the highest categories in the *varṇa* order, prosperous men such as the *setthi* and the *gahapati*, as well as the inhabitants of the town. The inclusion of the *natakithiyas* in this context can be understood either as recognition of their social standing, or as a claim to social recognition.

There is another story, the *Kurudhamma Jātaka*, (No. 276), which reinforces these possibilities. In this story, we are carried through the entire social hierarchy,

from the king to the lowly *vannadāsī* in search of the truly righteous person. The list includes the king's mother, his wife, his brother, the *purohita*, a minor official, the *rājjuhaka amācca*, the charioteer, the measurer, the gate-keeper, and the *vannadāsī*. Each one directs those in search of the truth to the next person down the line, more often than not agonizing over what seems to be a trivial fault. For instance, the charioteer feels that he has violated *dhamma* as he drove the horses too hard in order to avoid getting wet in the rain.

On the face of it, the *vannadāsī's* dilemma seems far more substantial—she has accepted a thousand coins from a client who disappeared before she could serve him. She had been subsisting on these fees till she was reduced to dire straits, but was not sure whether she was right in reverting back to her means of livelihood in order to survive. In effect, it turns out that Sakka or Indra was her client, who wished to test her, and puts in a timely appearance to resolve the problem.

Let us return to the strategies of exchange that are suggested in the texts under consideration. In a different context, Trautmann (1995:278-88) classifies transactions into the following categories: the sacred gift, given by a donor to a person or institution which is recognized as superior, more often than not in order to acquire merit, the lordly or noble gift, given to a subordinate as a gesture of benevolence, but also as marker of dependence, wages for service, commercial transactions, including buying and selling, and the negative gift, or theft.

We may recollect that the *Kāmasūtra* recognizes the possibility of courtesans participating in the first kind of transaction, which is also documented in inscriptions. At another level, in the *Mṛcchakaṭīka*, we can understand the representation of Vasantasenā as a reluctant courtesan, who wished to gift herself to Cārudatta and acquire the status of a *kulavadhu*, as falling within this category.

Traces of the second strategy are found in the *Mṛcchakaṭīka*, in Vasantasenā's generosity to her maid Madanikā and the gambler, although these are not central to the story. We can also suggest that the first two strategies of exchange would have been both important and available to elite men. In fact, Cārudatta in the *Mṛcchakaṭīka* can be regarded as the lordly donor par excellence.

The *Jātakas* contain a more varied representation of the activities of elite men. While we do have references to the generous king or merchant, these categories, especially kings, are often represented as greedy and oppressive, i. e., to use Trautmann's euphemism, in engaging in negative gift-making, and almost inevitably: they are represented as coming to a bitter end, either

at the hands of the populace, more often than not led by a figure identified with the Bodhisattva, or by divine interventions. Śākāra in the *Mṛcchakaṭīka* would also conform to this pattern.

As far as courtesans are concerned, the *Jātakas* develop the notion of payment for service. This is juxtaposed with the notion of the honourable courtesan. Moreover, courtesans are virtually never represented as thieves, and even on occasions when they are shown as violating their contract, they are depicted as mending their ways.

Clearly, representations of exchange were shaped by considerations of what were regarded as plausible and desirable. As is obvious, these did not necessarily coincide. It is in this context that we can perhaps pursue the relationship between the king and the courtesan further.

At one level, we find that there is a latent equation between the imagery of the king and the courtesan in the "high" traditions. As noted earlier, the *Kāmasūtra* recognizes the predominance of *artha* as a legitimate concern for the *ganikā*, which ties in with that of the ruler. To some extent, traces of this imagery can be found in the *Mṛcchakaṭīka* as well, where we have passing references to the elephant and the umbrella bearer, typical royal insignia, associated with Vasantasenā.

At another level, we can examine the sexual relations of kings and queens, and plot them in terms of the categories of exchange just mentioned. In fact, Trautmann does use this to develop his analysis of *kanyādāna* in particular and marriage in general.

In the *Kāmasūtra*, the *nāgaraka/nāyaka* was assimilated, in the ultimate analysis, to the king, theoretically recognized as being all powerful in the sexual domain. While he was ideally expected to persuade or purchase women, the possibility of final recourse to force, if necessary, is acknowledged. At the same time, the possibility of royal women engaging in extra-marital relations is acknowledged with reluctance.

To an extent, the representations in the *Jātakas* both corroborate and diverge from these possibilities. On the one hand, there are perhaps dozens of stories of adulterous kings and queens. These would seem to corroborate or even illustrate the practices suggested in the *Kāmasūtra*.

Where the *Jātakas* diverge from the *Kāmasūtra* is in the treatment of the adulterous king / queen. The former is also invariably depicted as meeting his doom, while the latter is condemned but pardoned, as simply exemplifying the follies expected of one who was born with a "woman's nature."

Also intriguing are the references to the *natakīthiyas* as constituents of

the realm. While they are located within the hierarchy of courtesans in the *Kāmasūtra*, they are not assimilated to that category in the *Jātakas*. In other words, while the textual traditions suggest that early Indian kingship was a gendered institution, they also suggest that this could be conceptualized in more ways than one.

There is yet another point that we need to consider. This is that while making a lordly gift was open to elite men, and perhaps to elite women as well, sexual transactions were not conceptualized in these terms. Thus, while sexual exchanges could be represented as sacred or profane, they were virtually never visualized as noble or lordly. This is a facet that we need to take into consideration while we attempt to understand forms of patriarchy in early India.

It is perhaps time to return to a vexed question that I had raised at the outset - that of the possible audience for the textual traditions that we are considering. What I can offer in lieu of answers are rather crude generalizations. It is likely that the narratives of the *Jātakas*, available in a simple, direct form, were widely disseminated and both represented and shaped popular perceptions. While the actual texts were preserved by literate, often misogynist monks, the narratives could be transmitted through other forms as well.

The *Mrcchakatika*, on the other hand, was far more complex and closely structured as an audio-visual representation. As such, its enactment as well as its reception may have been restricted to an urban milieu, perhaps for the consumption of a more or less elite audience. And the *Kāmasūtra*, as we have seen, was perhaps even more restricted in its scope.

Students of history are now somewhat reluctantly acknowledging that the textual traditions that have survived from early India do not provide us with a neat, directly accessible 'reflection' of reality, which can be culled for information. What we have instead are contending representations of social relations. This may not allow us to reconstruct a single, final reality, but can perhaps enable us to gain access to the strategies that shaped social relations in all their complexity.

What we need to bear in mind then, is the co-existence of these more or less accessible and occasionally conflicting perspectives. Inevitably, this complicates our understanding of courtesans, who were implicated in both economic and sexual exchanges. Yet, as we have seen, they were not unique in this respect. Recognizing courtesans as part of complex, changing social networks, and as participants in contending systems of exchange might help us move beyond the somewhat sterile dichotomies of rich/poor, good/bad, that have often coloured our understanding of their existence.

The textual traditions that we have examined suggest that a variety of ways of conceptualizing the courtesanal tradition co-existed. Courtesans could be viewed as mercenary, but they could also represent simple notions of justice and fair play. They could be projected as seductive, but they could also be regarded as ordinary, practical women, surviving in a complex world. The plurality and richness of these conceptualizations may not have been accessible to all, but the resilience of the *Jātakas* can perhaps suggest that even the most humble men and women could both have access to and construct a vision of their world that was richly varied. We owe it to them to acknowledge this diversity as we try to understand these traditions.

Notes and References

1. All references of the *Kāmasūtra* are from Madhavacharya 1934.
2. All references to the *Mrcchakaṭīka* are from Kale 1988. Where verses are cited, mention is made of the verse number. In case of prose citations, the page number is mentioned.
3. All references to the *Jātakas* are from Fausboll (1877-1896).
4. The term *ganikā* is occasionally used, as in the Gamani Caṇḍa Jātaka (No. 257), but in this particular instance the woman is not represented as being particularly prosperous.
5. Śākāra is represented as being similarly abusive towards Vasantasenā's mother, who is summoned to court. While the judicial officer is shown as addressing her as *bhadre*, Śākāra is shown as accosting her as the *buddhakuttanī* (Act IX : 318). He is also represented as abusing Cārudatta in identical terms as *dāsie putte* (Act VIII : 286).
6. Vasantasenā's mother is also represented as being similarly addressed when she is summoned to court (Act IX : 318).
7. Incidentally, Vasantasenā is represented as reciprocating his courtesy by using the same form of address for him (Act II : 92).

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Uttareśvara Temple, Ter: A Study

Chetan Shankar Sall

Ter, the ancient Tagar, of taluka and district Osmanabad, is famous for its antiquity and has several temples ranging in date from 4th century CE down to 18th century CE. Among these temples, Trivikrama, Uttareśvara, Nīlakaṅtheśvara and Kāleśvara, are the most important and the only standing examples in brick of such an early date in Maharashtra. All these four temples display contemporary art and architectural idiom not known from other sources and hence occupy unique place in the development of temple architecture in the region of Deccan.

Uttareśvara Temple

This east facing Śiva temple, known as Uttareśvara (Fig. 1) is extant with staggered square cella (2 x 2 m from inside) fronted by rectangular *antarāla* (1 m. x 2 m). The debris clearance of 1992 revealed the remains of a *maṇḍapa* (5.80 x 5.80), Nandi*maṇḍapa* (2.00 x 2.50 m) and 4 small cells located at each cardinal direction of the *maṇḍapa*. The 1998 clearance work done by this author showed that these four cells and Nandi*maṇḍapa* were appended later and the brick size and type of construction as also the quality and nature of bricks show that not much time had elapsed in between. This is the addition seen in the method of construction, which is technically similar but not homogenous with the original construction. This addition of four subsidiary shrines [*parivārālayas*] made the temple *pañcāyatana*. This is the earliest evidence of such a kind of concept so far found in Maharashtra though the beginning of it may be traced in the early Brahmanical rock cut caves. The staggered cella is provided on the north with waterchute (*nāla* type) emptied in a brickbuilt watertank admeasured 1 m x 0.75 m. The present Śivaliṅga seen in the cella is a later addition and the original Liṅga is lying in the campus. The wooden doorframe of the temple originally set at the entrance of the cella is now removed to the Site Museum of Ter where it is displayed in the gallery. The threshold of the temple, exposed in 1998, was made of stone, having much weathered elephant head each on either side. There was a stone slab, admeasured 1.65 x 0.30 cm set along the *antarāla* wall facing *maṇḍapa*. This was found on the northern side whereas the one on the southern side was missing but left the depression indicating its presence. The extant stone slab has shallow depression in the middle to allow the standing sculpture to balance. There were stone bases meant for the wooden pillars along the wall of *maṇḍapa* indicating that there were

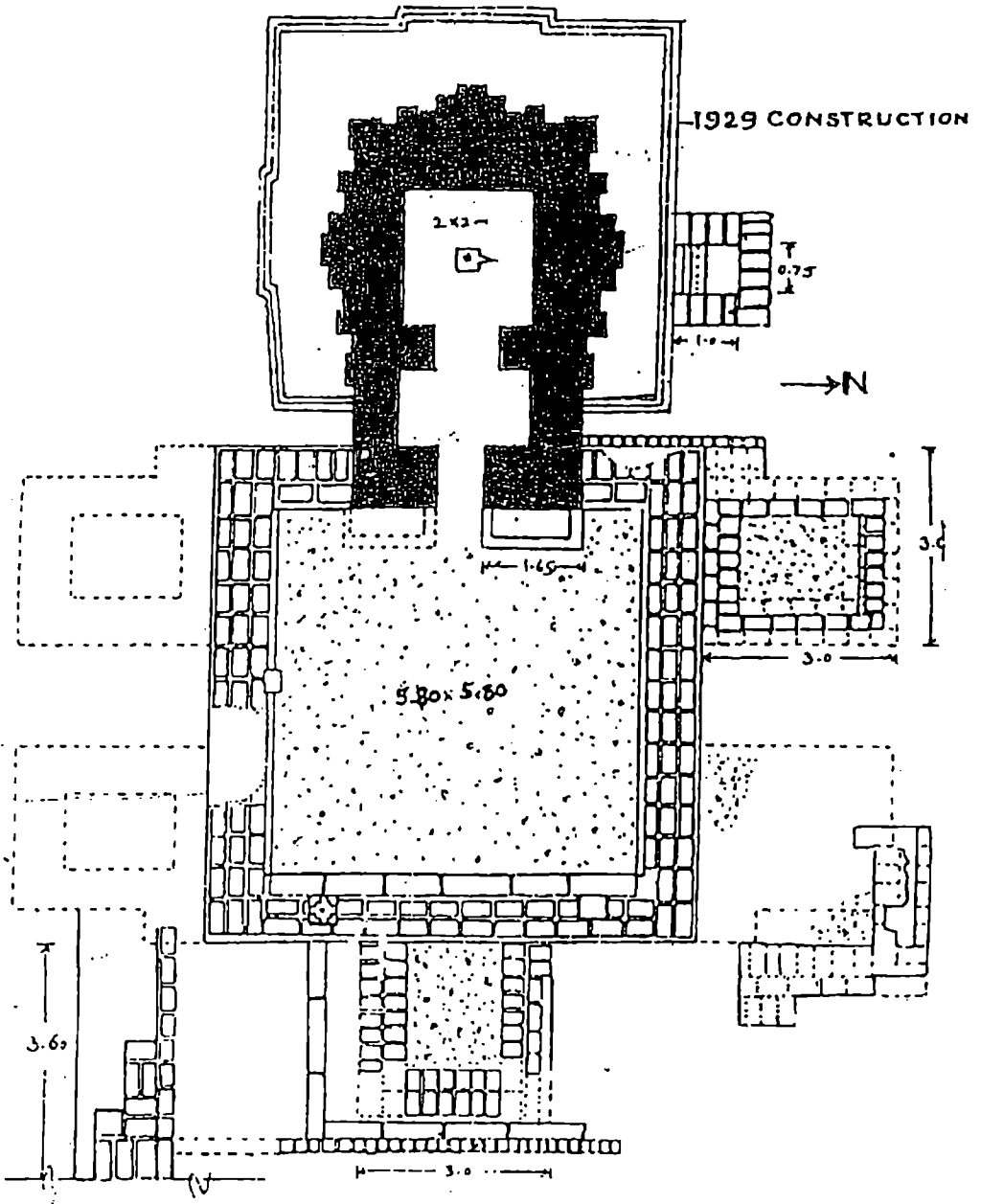


Fig. 1: Plan, Uttareśvara Temple, Ter

three pillars on each side along the axis and probably two at the entrance of *antarāla* and two at the junction of *maṇḍapa* and Nandi*maṇḍapa*. The mouldings on the extant wall of *maṇḍapa* are exactly similar to that of *garbhagr̥ha* indicating the very existence of high walls around. The spire surmounting the cella is much damaged but extant enough to give the idea of its original nature. The front portion is totally collapsed leaving the traces of *śukanāsikā* which had pillarets on its sides. The exposed core portion gives us the idea of the construction of the *śikhara* by corbelling bricks and wooden members inserted in between for support. From the extant example of the Kāleśvara temple of Ter, which is not far removed in date from the Uttareśvara temple and carries the same architectural idiom, it shows that the *śukanāsikā* was of rectilinear pent roof type but short in length with *nāsī* in front.

To note, the temple was restored in and around 1929 by the erstwhile Nizam Government when a square brick platform was provided at the base covering entire original plinth from all the sides and the walls of cella were provided with a thin coat of fine lime. There was one more thin layer of fine lime below the modern layer and though it is difficult to conjecture about its date, it is quite likely that this innermost layer of plaster is contemporary with the temple structure.

The original Śivaliṅga which is lying in the campus, is square at the base, octagonal in the middle and topped by a cylindrical portion having convex top. All these three parts are of equal size in height. The cylindrical part is marked with incised *brahmasūtra*. The basal square part indicates that the *pīṭha* for the Liṅga was definitely square, the feature of early phase of temple architecture.

The *vimāna* of Uttareśvara temple (Fig. 2) stands on a beautifully moulded *adhīsthāna* which is little more than a metre in height and composed of different mouldings, from bottom to top, *upāna*, *jagatī*, *padma* topped by *tripaṭṭa kumuda* intercepted by *antarikas*, followed by *kampa*, *kaṇṭha* decorated with horizontal diamonds having four-petalled flower inset and set within a rectangular niche flanked by plain pilasters rectangular on plan. This is topped by *ūrdhvakampa*, *ardhavṛtavajana*, *kapotapālikā* and *paṭṭikā* on which stands the decorated *jaṅghā*. The *kapotapālikā* is decorated with a pair of *nāsī* placed at regular intervals, of which *gadha* portion is filled in with four-petalled flower and the outer line of *mukhapatṭi* is moulded with tiny projections culminating into a raised *śikhā* bifurcated at the top.

The *jaṅghā* portion of *vimāna* is differentiated into *kaṛṇa* and *bhadrāṅgas* with *salilāntara* recesses. All the recesses except the *bhadra* portion are filled in with *nakulapadas* abutting the pilasters from inside on which rests the *makara toraṇa*. Here the arch or *torāṇa* is spewed between the open jaws of a face to face pair of crocodiles sitting on the top of pilasters. As such

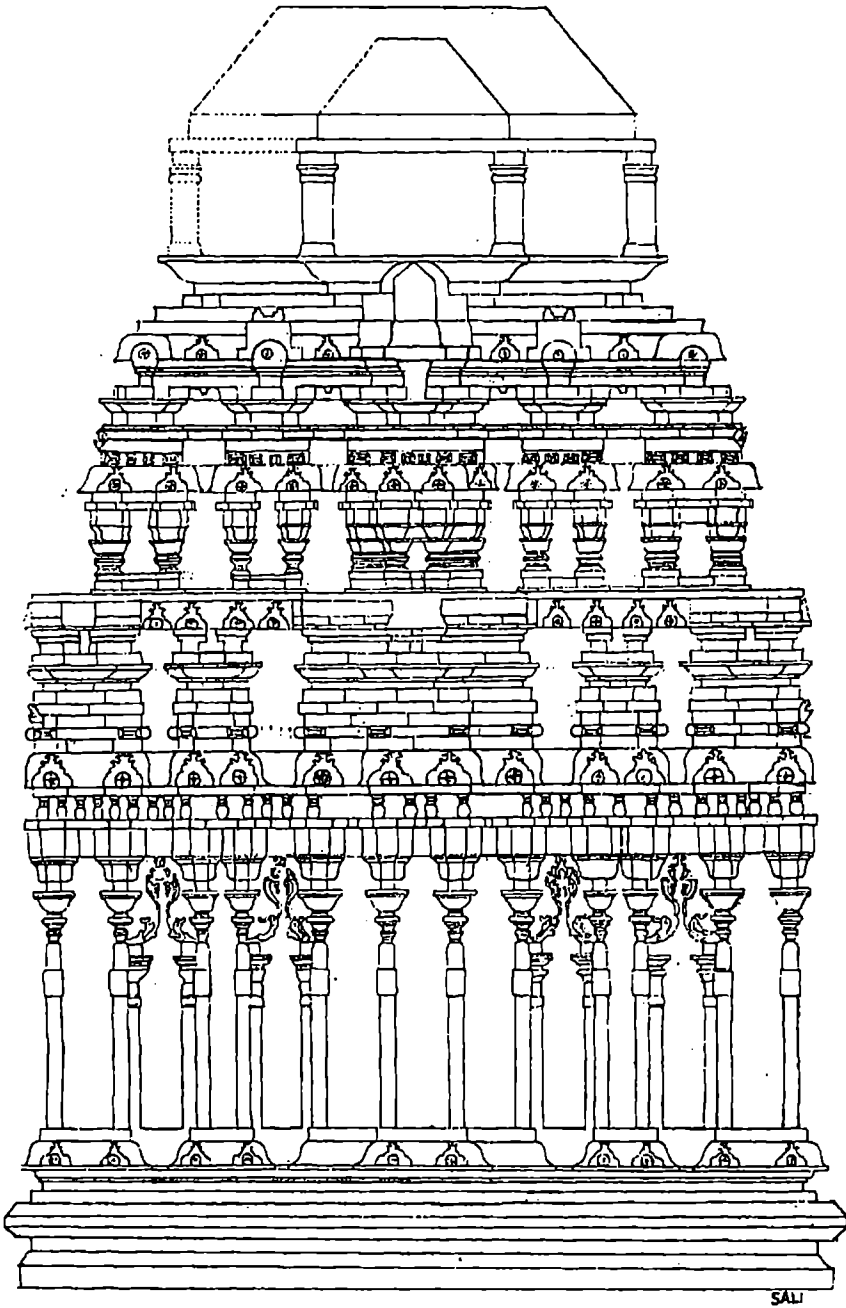


Fig. 2 : Uttareśvara Temple, Ter, West-side Elevation

makara is an ancient motif and *makara toraṇa* has also considerably wider history in India. Each recess is flanked by pilasters. All the pilasters as also the *nakulapadas* are identical with each other. The pilaster has plain square shaft with rectangular *mālāsthāna*, *laṣuna*, *tati*, *ghata*, *kanṭha*, *pali*, *virkanta* and rectangular brackets with undersides rounded. On the top of it is the plain *uttara* portion in the joist end pattern and horizontal plain band right below the cornice. A very peculiar feature seen here is the prancing *śirṅha vyālas*, each set on the corner of *prastara*. The last one fell down at around 1990 and now the proof remains only in the form of photographs available with the Directorate of Archaeology and Museums of State of Maharashtra.

The superstructure is square on plan, three storeyed, with *śālā hāra* resting on the pillars and decorated with *nāsī* in pair filled in with eight-petalled flower and the outline of the *mukhapattī* is decorated with tiny projections as described above in the case of plinth mouldings. The superstructure is topped by *kuṭasīkhara* over square *grīvā* having pillarets resting over *vedī*. The whole portion rests over a storey having *karnakūṭas*. There is no *vyālamālā* but a prancing *vyāla* on each corner of first and second storey. There is no decoration on the superstructure or *śikhara* portion. This feature takes the temple much earlier than the much developed Karnāṭa Drāviḍa temples of Karnataka. (Fig. 2).

The wooden doorframe which is now in the Site Museum of Ter and is the only example of wood in Maharashtra of such an early date, is of *pañcaśākhā* type, which in later period, i. e. so called late Cālukya-Yādava period, described as *Nandinī* type. The outermost *śākhā* is decorated with *valli*, next comes *vyālaśākhā*, then *yugmaśākhā*, plain *stambhaśākhā* and the innermost is decorated with *ratnaśākhā*. The *prastara* portion composed of 6 components, from down to upward, is the extension of all the five *śākhās* carried upward below which is the *kapota* with *karnakūṭas* resting on plain *stambhaśākhā* and a *śālā* in the centre. The roof of the *śālā* is decorated with *netranāsikā* having eight-petalled flower inside. This feature is noticed in the earliest Brahmanical cave of Jogeśvaraī, cave no. 21 (Rāmeśvara) of Ellora and later on at Badami cave no. 3. Then comes the lintel having several figures of deities. Beginning from left are the four male figures, the corner one is standing followed by musicians, then Lakulīśa in *padmāsana* flanked by two attendants, Brahmā and the central figure is of Maheśa or Trimūrti. The Trimūrti figure has vertical third eye on forehead. On the right side of the Trimūrti is a male figure in *lalitāsana*, probably a royal personnel, a figure of Lakulīśa flanked by female attendants and the devotee, leaning and facing the scheme and hands in obeisance - *namaskāra mudrā*. There is a female figure extant with bust each at the base of the doorjamb.

Discussion

The antiquarian remains including brick and stone temples of Ter were reported by Cousens in his report of 1902-03.¹ While discussing the brick temples, Cousens has placed the "Buddhist Caitya" (present Trivikrama Temple) in 4th century CE, or 'even older' and its *mandapa* as an addition, not so very far removed in point of time from the building of the Caitya.

Later on Dr. A. V. Naik studied the Ter brick temples for his doctoral thesis, part of which is published in the Volume IX, nos. 7-12 of *New Indian Antiquary*.² Taking into consideration the observations made by Cousens in his report of 1902-03, Naik opines that Ter Caitya, as compared to Chezrala, is of very early date. While dating the temple of Uttareśvara, Naik has considered the brick size and says that the size of the bricks and the exterior decoration of the Uttareśvara indicate their nearness in point of time, to the Buddhist Caitya and we may not be far from right in placing these temples (Uttareśvara and Kāleśvara) in the latter half of the 6th century CE (p. 193). Naik ascribed the construction of these temples to Kalacuris.

Cousens and Naik are right in observing and quite logical in arguing the date of Ter brick temples in the light of contemporary available evidence.

The recent study carried out by this author during the project of Conservation of the Earthquake Affected Monuments of Latur and Osmanabad districts of Maharashtra (1994-1998)* revealed certain new features hitherto buried under the debris. These revelations have helped us to decide on firmer ground several important factors including the original dedication and date of Trivikrama Temple,³ the date of additions made to the Trivikrama temple and date of Uttareśvara temple.

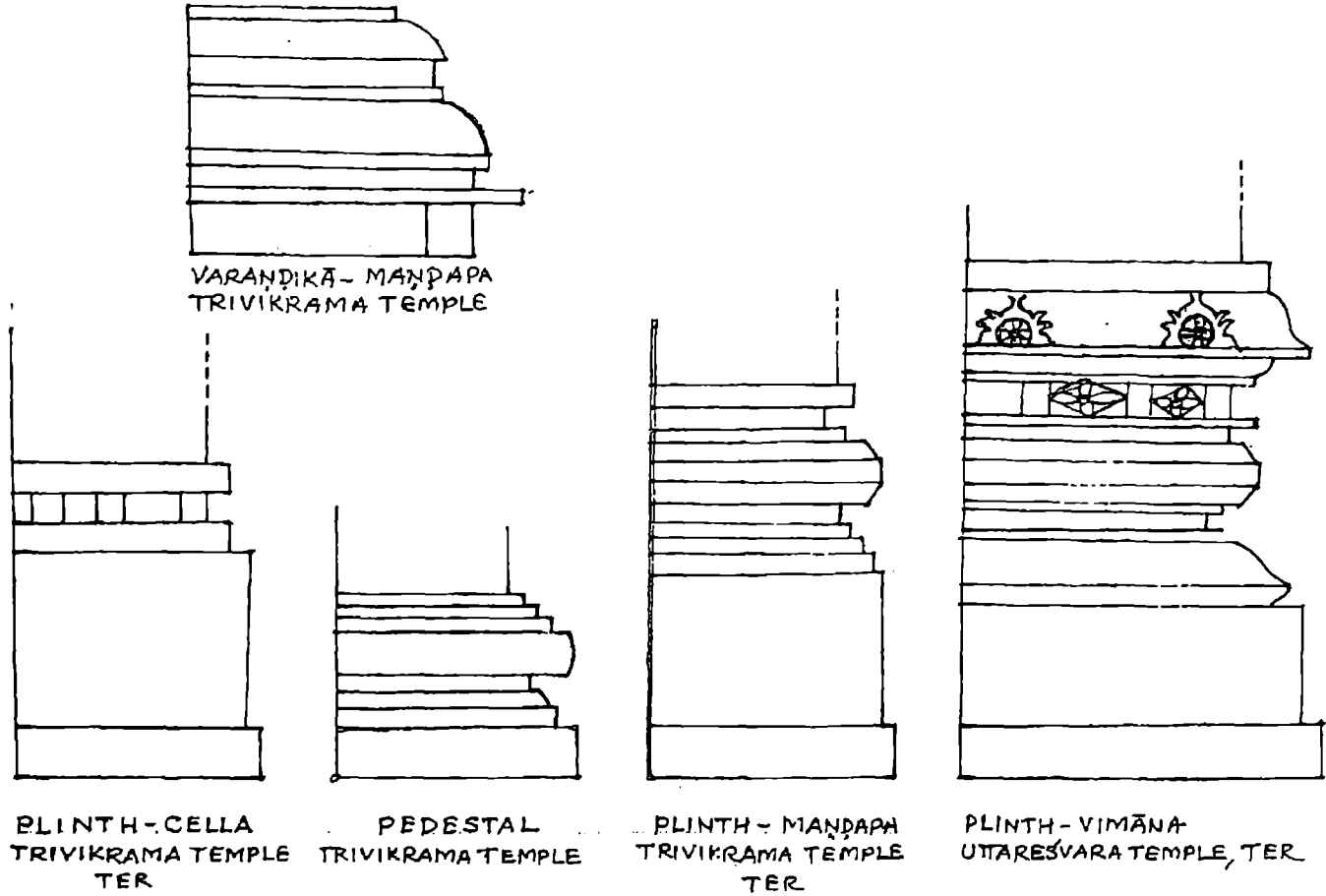
The brick size of the temples under consideration is a decisive factor, as Naik has also considered. The bricks used for cella, the *pīṭha*, the *mandapa* of Trivikrama temple and for the construction of Uttareśvara temple, show difference not only in size but also in the technical aspects. The bricks used for cella of Trivikrama temple are of two different sizes, viz. larger is admeasured 53 to 48 x 27 to 21 x 8 to 6 cm. and smaller are of 38 to 35 x 19 to 17 x 7 to 5 cm. Similar admixture is also observed in the construction of an oval shaped temple of Mulchera of district Chandrapur.⁴ The bricks larger in size follow the earlier tradition i. e. of early historical or Sātavāhana period of which evidence has come from Ter itself. The larger bricks from cella are comparatively smaller than those found in the Sātavāhana period, slightly orange in colour as against the bricks of Sātavāhana period, made of well levigated clay and sufficiently fired. The bricks of smaller size are also slightly orange in colour and of good quality. The bricks used in the construction of *pīṭha* and appended *mandapa* are more orange in colour,

measured 38 to 35 x 19 to 17 x 7 to 5 cm.; of single size; medium coarse in fabric, sometime sandy material is found in the greyish black core and insufficiently fired. When these bricks were manufactured fine clay was unevenly sprinkled over it when wet. This was done probably to give finished look. The sides and corners are much sharper than the bricks of earlier period. In the case of *pīṭha* few of the bricks are found with 40 cm length. The bricks having shapes other than usual shape (i.e. rectangular) were moulded as per the requirement.⁵

The temple plan is the next important aspect. The planning of Trivikrama temple with its cella, with appended *mandapa* and of Uttareśvara temple shows the experimental stage of which several examples have been unearthed especially from Vidarbha region and at Ramtek we have standing examples. In this stage we have oval and rectangular plans. Except Ramtek all the examples are in brick. The marked feature of this experimental stage is the appearance of *bhadra*, though in incipient stage. In this process the plain-straight wall is broken for two reasons - to accommodate the sculpture/s or sculptured panel and to enhance the beauty of the structure. We know that these panels in stone were created to 'narrate' the Purāṇic story. So these were hoardings created at the time when Brahmanism was being pushed against the waning Buddhism. Such kind of attempt is seen even in the case of oval temple plan exposed in the excavations at Washim. At Ramtek small *bhadrās* were provided to Kevala, a Narasimha temple. This temple, on the basis of inscription, which refers to Prabhāvafī Gupta, is dated to c. 420 CE. In the case of appended *mandapa* of Trivikrama temple there are platforms each on east, north and south sides. The basal mouldings of plinth run on the base of platforms but walls are straight. The northern and southern platforms have considerably wide slit running along the wall meant to accommodate the sculptures or sculptural panel and therefore, the pillars in pair on the wall are placed not at regular intervals but along the side leaving the central place empty to accommodate the sculptures fixed in the slit supported by the wall. These platforms are nothing but the *bhadra* projections, not yet merged with the walls on plan. The true merging of the *bhadra* projections is seen in the temple of Uttareśvara where the plan has become staggered. But in this case also the *bhadrās* are not projecting much out of the wall. The in-between stage is seen at Lal Deul locality of Washim where the rectangular cella was provided with two projections placed oblique to each other, projecting outward at the back wall as also the side walls. Temple belongs to mid 5th century CE.⁶

The plinth mouldings of cella, *pīṭha* and appended *mandapa* of Trivikrama temple and of Uttareśvara temple show development (Fig. 3). The plinth of cella of Trivikrama temple is simple, consists of plain *vedibandha* and a *paṭṭī* on top. In between there is a gap in which we see the lower end of pilasters

Fig. 3



giving the appearance of miniature railing. The *pīṭha* which is also an addition and contemporary to appended *maṇḍapa* is made of bricks. It rises to the height of original waterchute (*nāla* variety) which runs through the thick wall of cella and decants in the abutting water tank. The *pīṭha* is decorated with simple plain recessed mouldings, has *ksudrapadma* and *vṛttakumuda* in between, *upāna* at the base and *mahāpaṭṭi* on the top. The plinth of *maṇḍapa* is also decorated with mouldings in the same way but with some modifications. Here appears the *tripaṭṭakumuda* below which there are, from bottom upward, *upāna*, *jagali* and recessed mouldings in the same fashion as in the case of *pīṭha*. Over the *tripaṭṭakumuda* there comes a *kampa* topped by *paṭṭi* with a gap inbetween in which are seen the lower ends of pilasters. The plinth of Uttareśvara is a step further and much ornamented innovation appears. Here the elevation is broken into *bhadrās* and *karnās*. The mouldings from bottom upward begin with *upāna*, *jagali*, *padma*, *kampa*, *tripaṭṭakumuda*, *kaṇṭha*, *ardhavṛttavajana* and *kapotapālikā* topped by a *paṭṭi*.

We have three types of elevations located in one area and placed close in point of time. In the case of Trivikrama cella, it is a plain *janghā* with 18 identical pilasters placed at regular intervals. These are tall, with plain tapering shaft over which runs a *paṭṭi*-band and a *kapota* with steep slope. From the top of this begins the vaulted roof of which the lower portion is decorated with boxlike decoration. The wall of *maṇḍapa* of Trivikrama temple is different in the placement of pilasters, a step ahead, in elevational enhancement. Here there are 6 pilasters on three sides and 2 pilasters on each backside i. e. western side of the *maṇḍapa*, which project out at the junction of cella and *maṇḍapa*. On each of the three walls, a pilaster is placed at the corner and two pairs of pilasters placed nearer to the end pilaster instead of at regular interval, leaving a place in the centre for sculptures as already described. A *bandha* runs on the top of pilasters and over which begins the *varaṇḍikā*. The *varaṇḍikā* is composed of double *kapota* intervened by plain *kaṇṭha* type arrangement of mouldings. Both the *kapotas* have gentle slope. The composition of *varaṇḍikā* reminds us of the one on the porch of cave no. 19 and the depiction in the paintings of cave no. 1, both of Ajanta.

The elevation of Uttareśvara temple is already described. The placement of pilasters in pairs has already begun. Here we have *nakulapadas*, in addition, abutting the pilasters of *bhadrās*, on which rest the *makaras* issuing *torāṇa* from mouth. This foliated *makara torāṇa* is of early type and appears for the first time.

The pilasters (Fig. 4) from all the three cases show interesting development. The 18 identical pilasters of cella of Trivikrama are simple. It has tapering plain shaft, the feature of early period. It has *laśuna* at upper end and three thin mouldings, the central with rounded edges sandwiched between *kani*

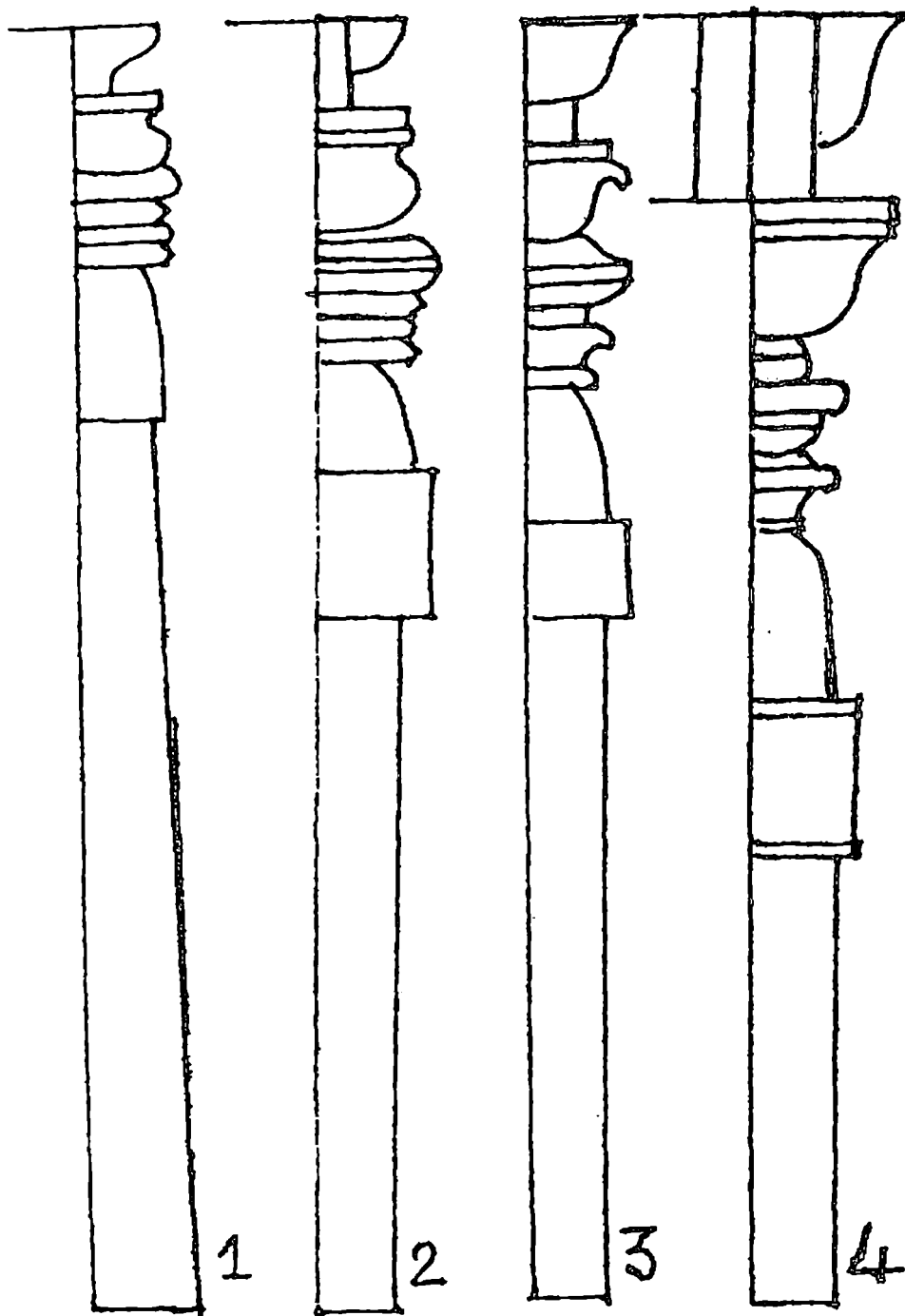


Fig. 4 : Pilaster types
1-Cella, 2-3-maṇḍapa Trivikrama, 4-Cella, Uttareśvara Temple

mouldings. This is topped by the *ghata*, squat with bulging body and simple *potikā* at upper end. Next in order of development are the pilasters of *maṇḍapa*, 22 in number, exhibiting two varieties. In both the varieties the shaft is straight topped by *mālāsthāna* bereft of decoration over which sits the *laśuna*. In one case (No. 2 of Fig. 4) there are three thin mouldings similar to that described in the case of cella, whereas in the case of No. 3 (Fig. 4) there appears a *tati*, the most important aspect in the development of pillar. Over the *tati* there is a neck-like projection on which sits the stylised cushion with thick central band projecting out. In the case of No. 2 there is a cushion with simple central band and this is topped by *ghata* in both the cases. The *ghata* of No. 2 is simple with thin *phalaka* on it. The *ghata* is squat and with bulging body whereas in the case of No. 3 (Fig. 4) the *ghata* is little vertical and is a precursor of *maṇḍi* in shape, with drooping ends and topped by a *phalaka*. The *potikās* in both the cases are simple and plain. The pilasters of Uttareśvara are almost similar to that of No. 3 of *maṇḍapa*. It has a straight, slender and plain shaft having *mālāsthāna* at its upper end, topped by a straight *laśuna* having rounded top (a modified version of *laśuna*) and a *tati*, the element already present on *maṇḍapa* of Trivikrama temple. It is topped by *ghata* and *maṇḍi*, thin *phalaka* over which comes the *potikā* similar to that of the pilasters of *maṇḍapa*.

There is a paucity of sculptures. In the temple of Trivikrama the figure of Trivikrama is extant with his left leg firmly placed on the ground and a panel of three figures attached to it. Lower end of beaded *mālā* is seen coming down over the upper part of panel. This sculptured panel was exposed during the clearance work. This has three figures. The one on the left and kneeling at the foot of Trivikrama looking up pathetically is of King Bali. Standing next to him is Guru Śukrācārya, looking up, with a hand raised to the eye level to cover partially from the glare of giant Viṣṇu. Śukrācārya is shown with *mrgājina* and a *caśaka* lying at his feet. The third figure, standing in *divibhaṅga* and hands in obeisance is the figure of Queen of King Bali. The panel is exactly in the tradition of narrative sculptures. The sculptures are beautifully carved in round, well proportioned with supple and smooth body, carved with imagination and the sculptor is successful in narrating whole story of Vāmanāvatāra and form of Trivikrama just with 3 figures.

Another group of workmanship is seen from a wooden doorway already described. There is a figure of Lakulīśa in the centre. The sculptures cut in wood are slightly thinner in proportion when compared with the figures of Trivikrama panel. Slight elongation in *mukuta* and in the supple, smooth body indicates that these are slightly later in date than the sculptured panel of Trivikrama. The doorway has become more elaborate i. e. *pañcaratha*, and bears *yugma* figures which are very much similar in execution to those of *prastara* figures. Elephant heads appear in threshold. There is a female

figure, extant with bust, at the base of doorjambs as per the contemporary tradition. This can be identified with Gaṅgā or Yamunā.

Date

We have discussed all the features of Uttareśvara temple and have compared with existing examples. This background would show that the Uttareśvara temple is still in the experimental stage sharing certain features with the *mandapa* of Trivikrama temple, and excavated temple remains of Washim. All the examples show the stage of experimenting, finding out a proper form with the introduction of several new elements, which have become the essential parts for later period temples. Presence of Lakulīśa is important. The female figures on the doorway remind us of the figures of Rāmeśvara cave of Ellora. The physical features, coiffure and lower garment in both the cases are very much similar. Also the *prastara* portion of the temple is similar to the *prastara* of many of the early Brahmanical rock cut caves.

Considering all these factors, we may date this temple to the period around c. 525 CE, but not later.

* I am greatly indebted to Dr. A. P. Jamkhedkar, the then Director of Archaeology and Museums (Maharashtra) who entrusted me the work of Conservation of Earthquake Affected Monuments and in particular the conservation of brick temples of Ter. I am also thankful to Dr. K. D. Kawadkar, his successor, who showed full confidence in me and allowed me to continue the work.

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5. Further degradation in the quality of bricks is observed at Harine and Parinche, villages of Dist. Pune. At Parinche the ancient structure was ploughed off whereas the structure of Harine is extant with plinth of smaller dimensions, viz. 5.55 mt. north south and 7.50 mt. east west exposed by the author in 1985. It consists of a cella and a porch. The structure was dedicated to Śiva. The plinth mouldings include simple recessed and projected mouldings above the *upāna* and *jagati* topped by *tripaṭṭakumuda* and a thin *paṭṭi*. The brick size here is 40 to 37 x

19 to 15 x 7 to 5 cm. Technically the bricks are poorer in quality as compared to 'Vākātaka bricks' and surface is reddish-blackish in colour, coarse in fabric. The village of Harine as also the village Parinche are referred to in the copper plate found at Jejuri of dist. Pune, located close to these villages and issued by Western Cālukyan King Vinayāditya during his 9th regnal year. The plate gives the date as Śake 609 (CE 687). The temple remains can be dated to mid 7th century on the basis of structural style and brick size as also the quality etc. The dozens of brick structures excavated in the region of Maharashtra by this author do show the type of bricks used in different periods and we are now in a state of understanding to date a structure, but not precisely, on the basis of the brick types.

6. This temple plan (Washim - Lal Deul locality) was built of bricks of the size and quality comparable to the bricks of Vākātaka period. The temple stands on a high plinth. The cella had two rectangular projections at the back wall placed obliquely projecting outward and each projection on either side. These projections were definitely meant for accommodating the sculptures. Similar example, contemporary in date comes from Mandhal where a rectangular temple plan was exposed near Varhadi talav. Here the side walls of cella had Shahabad stone slab inserted in the brick wall at eye level to place a sculpture. Here in this case the portion does not project. The existence of side projections is also noticed in the case of oval-shaped plan.

Gifts for Warding Off Evils:

Some Illustrations from Peshwa Period

Varsha S. Shlrgaonkar

The Peshwa rule is periodised from the mid-eighteenth century to 1818. Little before his death King Shahu of Satara had issued a *sanad* (an order) in the name of his Peshwa, Balaji Bajirao in 1749, giving him administrative powers of the Maratha kingdom. Also known as Nanasaheb, the Peshwa diplomatically shifted his administrative centre from Satara to Poona, soon after Shahu's death to avoid the administrative turmoil. Since then Poona became not only the administrative centre but also the stronghold of the socio-cultural activity.

The Peshwas were Chitpavan Brahmins of Konkan. The rule of Peshwas symbolizes the reinstating of Brahmanical religion. Being Chitpavan Brahmins from Konkan themselves, the Peshwas were staunch followers of *Brāhmaṇa dharma*. The historical records like *Peshwa Daftar* and the Diaries of the Peshwas provide us lot of information about the elaborate rituals, modes of worship, the gifts given etc. The religious occasions did not remain phenomena of simple celebrations but of enormous festivities. The enhanced festivities may be attributed also to the political expansions of the Peshwas in north India and Karnatak. The campaigns of the Peshwas generated some additional resources generating abundance. This abundance also got reflected in the celebration of the festivals. The festivals like *Dasara*, *Holi* came to be celebrated with pomp. The festival of *Holi* in Maharashtra had the addition of *Ranganpanchami* during the same period.

The Peshwas and their family members strictly adhered to the Dharmasāstras. The prominent religious texts at that time were *Dharmasindhu* and *Nirṇayasindhu*. The authorship of *Nirṇayasindhu* is ascribed to Kamalakarbhatta. Kashinath Upadhyaya or Baba Padhye was the author of *Dharmasindhu*. He hailed from Sangameshwar in Ratnagiri district. The modes of worship and the offerings prescribed in these texts bear a close similarity to those mentioned in the contemporary historical records. These throw light upon the beliefs and customs of the people. Various rituals for warding off the evil effect of the demons are also mentioned in the historical documents. This was because the idea that a disease was caused by black magic or the evil was common practically in all the medieval Indian societies. The rituals had to include gifts on account of the belief that the gifts would propitiate

the evil or would be the means to ward off the danger. Such offerings used to be given at the instance of diseases, supposed ghosts and also eclipses among others.

Till very recently the disease of small pox was always associated with a goddess. People used to give away *dānas* or gifts so that the patient in their house would be cured fast. The document dated 20th December 1749 shows that young Madhavrao and Vishwasrao were suffering from small pox. Their age was four and seven years respectively. Hence, two gold images of the goddess of small pox totally weighing two and half *tolās* were given as gifts.¹ There is also another document about the members of the Peshwa family being contracted by small pox. This is dated 11th October 1741 and it shows that the effect of small pox was very grave on Raghunathrao, Janardanpant and Sadashivrao Bhau.² Various deities were propitiated. There is also the mention of a *pir* (a Muslim mendicant) who was propitiated. Elaborate *dānas* were given after the safe recovery of the patients. Sometimes the *dānas* indicate as to which part of the body was the most affected one. In this document there is a mention of two eyes given as gifts. These appear to be the tokens of gold of the shape of eye. The document says that the eyes of Sadashivrao Bhau were getting affected because of small pox. Hence, the goddess was promised two gold eyes in case of safe recovery of the eyes of the patient. Apart from the gifts of gold eyes there is also a mention of *pādukā* or the pair of feet. The material of *pādukā* that was given as gift is not mentioned. But as per the convention prevalent till this date they may be of gold or silver. The document mentions a cradle of gold assured to the goddess after the recovery of Sadashivrao Bhau from small pox. The weight of this cradle was twenty-four *tolās*.

The goddess of small pox in India has been generally called Śītalādevī. Even in the Purāṇas she is said to be the chief goddess that causes small pox, chicken pox etc. The devotees might worship her all days of the week but Sunday was considered to be more auspicious. *Skanda Purāṇa* had stated that the offering of the pounded whole *masura* beans (a type of beans) to the goddess would save the patient from suffering, especially if he was a small child.³ Śītalā is also one of the seven sisters and is usually considered to be their representative. In Bengal she is portrayed as a naked woman painted red and mounted on an ass with a bundle of broomsticks in one hand with which she sweeps the disease. There is also an earthen pot under her left arm and a winnowing fan upon her head.⁴ The statue of this goddess is either kept in the temple or as per the practice of some places she figures as one of the seven balls of clay placed in a row under the shade outside the village. The relatives, especially mother, of the patients suffering from small pox, chicken pox or measles make offerings to the goddesses. In some parts of India some objects are offered to them along with the sweetmeats and

flowers. The mode of offerings during Peshwa period as discussed above bears a close resemblance to the one found in other parts of India too. In Central Provinces when a child gets well after the disease, a cradle is offered to Śitalādevī. In case the disease catches the eyes of a child the mother of the child offers a pair of silver eyes to the goddess to save them.⁵ This again is the same as the silver tokens of the eyes. A cradle in the *dāna* may be considered as representative of a child. Hence, giving away a small model of cradle symbolizes the mother's wish to release the child from the evil eyes.

In December 1746, Gopikabai was suffering from eyesore.⁶ Hence the deity was assured of the gift of eyes. The fulfilment of the vow after the cure comprised of eye tokens of gold of less than half a *tolā* and of two small cradles. The cradles were of one and half *tolās* and of one *tolā* respectively. This ritual was conducted in the Ganapati temple at Ranjangaon.⁷

The practice of religious tokens or tokens given as gifts was found in many communities of the Hindus. The tokens contained the picture of the deity. Some tokens were of the nature of *bracteates*. These had invocative designs.⁸ Some of them used to be given away as gifts to get rid of a disease. These included various invocative tokens having the designs of a pair of feet, ear, nose, pair of palms etc. These used to be given away to eliminate the pain in the respective part of the body. This practice is followed even now.

The phenomenon of eclipse was considered to be polluting the atmosphere. As per the superstition prevailing since the epic period, the demons Rāhu and Ketu swallowed the Sun and the Moon causing eclipse. The myth of Rāhu-Ketu forms a part of the bigger myth of *Samudramanṭhana* (Churning of Milky Ocean). As per this myth when Dhanvantarī appeared on the surface of the Milky Ocean with a vessel of nectar in hand, the *asuras* or the demons forcefully demanding it grabbed it, the consumption of which would make them immortal. Their immortality would be dangerous to the *suras* or the gods. Hence Lord Viṣṇu took the form of Mohinī, a beautiful woman, to seduce the demons and to take back the vessel of nectar from them. After taking back nectar from the demons the gods were distributing it among themselves. But Rāhu was sitting among the gods in disguise. Just when nectar barely reached his throat, the sun and the moon detected him and pointed him out to Viṣṇu who used his *Sudarśana cakṛa* and severed the head of Rāhu from his body. But since the nectar had entered Rāhu's head it became immortal. To take revenge on the sun and the moon Rāhu swallows them time and again, thus causing the eclipse.⁹ This myth slightly changed during the Purāṇas. The body of Rāhu, according to the Purāṇas fell on the earth but the head remains immortal. *Padma Purāṇa* terms the fallen trunk of Rāhu

as Ketu thus showing the inseparable connection between Rāhu and Ketu.¹⁰ The phenomenon of eclipse was understood in all the ancient societies as the encroachment of either the beasts or the demons on the sun and the moon respectively. Mythological accounts of various countries reflect upon this. Like the Hindus, some communities observed fast and offered prayers and gifts on the occasion of eclipse. The Ceylonese, for example, observed fast during an eclipse. The Todas also believed in observing fast. To the Tahitians, the lunar eclipse was caused by some evil spirit which would destroy the moon. In order to dispel its impact the Tahitians took resort at the temple and offered prayers, so that the moon would be released from the clutches of the evil. There was also a belief that the celestial authority offended a god and hence in anger the god decided to swallow the sun and the moon time and again. It was therefore the duty of the people on the earth to offer presents to him to rescue the sun and the moon.¹¹

The myth of Rāhu and Ketu was carried forward in the later years. The instance of the solar eclipse in texts like *Nirṇayasindhu* or the historical documents of the Peshwa period was described as the event of Rāhu swallowing the sun. People were instructed as to what they should do from the time since when Rāhu swallowed the sun till he released him.¹² Various *dānas* during the eclipse were advocated to reduce its supposed adverse effect on life while some of them were given soon after the sun was totally visible.¹³ Giving the *dānas* on this occasion was supposed to be very blissful. Gift of cows was advocated right from ancient times. One document of the Peshwa times shows that a solar eclipse fell on the 13th April 1763. Raghunathrao, the brother of Nanasahab Peshwa sent instructions to one Vyankataramashastri about the gifts to be given at that time. As per this, well-bred Brahmins were to be invited and Rs. 100/- should be offered to them as *dakṣiṇā*. Again, one more Brahmin was to be invited specially, who should be asked to take several baths during the span of the solar eclipse and later should be paid Rs. 50/-. These baths had to be accompanied by the chanting of the *mantras*. Among other Vedic *mantras*, *gāyatrī mantra* has been specially recommended till this date.¹⁴ Taking baths again and again symbolizes warding off the evil effect; thus each bath would reduce this effect and release the sun part by part. A Brahmin here becomes a representative of the Peshwa household. Thus he would take baths on behalf of the family members of the Peshwa household. Various *śāstras* had enjoined baths in the waters of wells, lakes, rivers etc. during the eclipse.¹⁵ This as per the *śāstras* would minimize the evil spell of Rāhu. Practically every religious text of the Hindus had recommended bath during an eclipse. Hemādri recommended bath at the beginning and end of the eclipse. He also gave a list of the rivers taking bath in whose water was having the effect of cleansing the evil effect of the eclipse.¹⁶

The same document also advocates that hundred cows were to be given

as gifts. For buying hundred cows Raghunathrao had granted Rs. 4000/- to Vyankataramashastri. Raghunathrao advises him to buy the cows as far as possible. If totally hundred cows were not obtained the remaining amount would be given as a gift to the Brahmins. The price of a cow at that time as mentioned in the document was Rs. 40/-.¹⁷ The gift of cow was considered to be blissful even in *Manusmṛti*. The Purāṇas considered the gift of a milch cow to be blissful. The cow to be gifted should have her horns covered with gold and hoofs with silver. The donor of such a cow is said to obtain heavenly abode for the years equal to the hair on the body of the cow.¹⁸ An eclipse is associated with the gift of sesame. The historical records do mention *tilapātra* or a pot full of sesame as the gift. In the year 1787 when there was an eclipse this *dāna* was mentioned among the various other *dānas* like *godāna*, *moharas* (gold coins).¹⁹ The association of sesame or the sesame oil with the eclipse is prevalent till this day. In some groups of people of Rajasthan, the people of high-caste observe a particular practice. A flat copper pot is filled with sesame oil. Each family member is made to see the reflection of the face in it. Then the oil is given away to a lower Brahmin. The gift of sesame is also recommended in various Purāṇas. *Matsya Purāṇa* mentions a *tiladhenu* (cow of sesame) where it is stated that a person who donates a *tiladhenu* gets the virtue of giving away the whole earth with its seas and forests.²⁰ *Kūrma Purāṇa* states that the *dāna* of sesame along with gold, honey and clarified butter given to a Brahmin makes a person cross all the calamities. This gift should be given at the change of the solar course, on the day of the solstice, at the eclipse of the sun and the moon and on the Saṅkrānti day.²¹

The custom of weighing a person against the gifts in an eclipse also is seen in Peshwa period. This used to be called *tulādāna*. A document of 21st May 1788 shows that Govind Krishna Godbole, an officer of Anandibai, the wife of Raghunathrao sent an order from Kopargaon to his subordinates to arrange for *tulādāna* of Anandibai.²² The document states that very soon the great solar eclipse was approaching and hence Anandibai had specially instructed the officer about her *tulā*. We are not sure whether this great eclipse was the total solar eclipse. *Tulādāna* or *Tulāpuruṣa dāna* has been mentioned in Purāṇas. Usually the people of the royal household carried it out and gave away either gold, jewels or other valuables equal to one's weight.²³ This being a very rich offering could be obviously affordable only to the royal household. *Tulāpuruṣa dāna* was considered to be the highest gift. On this background it becomes clear as to how much amount came to be spent in the name of religion time and again during the Peshwa period.

Sometimes there is a mention of the *dāna* of serpent. A historical document of the year 1788 states that on the occasion of lunar eclipse in this year a serpent of gold was given as a gift.²⁴ The religious text *Nirṇayasindhu*

enjoins that at the time of lunar eclipse a silver token having the disc of moon on it be given as a gift along with a serpent of gold.²⁵ The weight of this serpent is given as *pala*, half *pala* or quarter *pala*. The association of serpent with an eclipse has a mythological connection. Rāhu, the demon, was said to be having the form of serpent. As per another mythological account another demon, Vṛtra, in a serpent form had usurped the waters of the earth. Indra smashed him and released the waters. Making the offering of a serpent on the occasion of the eclipse thus symbolizes release of the evil effect of the demon on the earth.

The foregoing account of some of the *dānas* shows that in the society where superstitions prevailed, they acted as medicines. In the actual structure of the medical scenario any abnormality of the human body after its detection would incorporate the processes like diagnosis and the treatment of the patients. But when the proper scientific investigations and the reasoning thereby were absent, everything was ascribed to God. Since the very idea regarding the disease was that it occurred on account of the wrath of a deity or befalling of some evil, people found it necessary to give gifts to either reduce it or totally wipe it out. When the society was ridden in the structure of orthodoxy *dānas* possibly were the only solutions. It also indicates that the structure of orthodoxy in practically all societies hardly underwent a change. On the one hand even though the scientific progress was carried on since the medieval times, the social response to the science of medicine was very bleak. Consequently, the age-old beliefs continued to hold ground. Giving away of gifts has been considered as blissful in practically all the social groups. Again this action of the people would offer them mental satisfaction. This feeling would be necessary for the healing of the patients especially in the state of anxiety. It is therefore that the tradition of giving gifts has continued even in the present times.

Notes and References

★ (This forms a part of the research project undertaken by the author.)

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4. James Hastings (ed.), *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. II, T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, Second Impression, 1930, p. 485.
5. *Ibid*, Vol. III, p. 312.
6. Gopikabai was the wife of Nanasaheb Peshwa.

7. No. 103, *PD*, p. 89.
8. Michael Michiner, *Indian Tokens: Popular Religious & Secular Art*, Hawkins Publications, England, 1998, pp. 65-66.
9. G. V. Davane, *Perspectives in The Vedic and The Classical Sanskrit Heritage*, D. K. Print World (P) Ltd., New Delhi, 1995, pp. 131-32.
10. *Ibid*, p. 133.
11. *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. X, pp. 368-69.
12. Kamalakarabhatta, *Nirṇayasindhu*, Narayanram Acharya (ed), Nirṇayasagar Press, Mumbai, 5th edition, 1949, p. 44 ff.
13. *Ibid*.
14. Tryambak B. Khare, *Mantrashastra Ani Mantrashaktiyoga*, Maheshwar Press, Amaravati, 2nd edition, 1942, p. 213.
15. Kamalakarabhatta, *op.cit*, p. 46.
16. *ibid*.
17. No. 75, *PD*, pp. 65-66.
18. *Agni Purāṇa*, 210.30 ff. For cows of various materials enjoined in the Purāṇas see S. A. Dange, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 639 ff.
19. N. G. Chapekar, *Peshawaichya Savalit*, Aryasamskriti Press, Pune 1937, pp. 304-05.
20. *Matsya Purāṇa*, 186.26.
21. *Kūrma Purāṇa*, II. 26. 22, 54.
22. Raghunathrao became Peshwa after murdering his young nephew Narayanrao who was the former Peshwa. Very soon, in 1775 his crime was established and he along with his wife Anandibai was put into confinement near Nasik. All the same, both of them were provided with subsidies for the observation of religious rites. There, Anandibai in the absence of any other work, was driven to the celebrations of various rituals. Hence the *Peshwa Daftar* records of this period give a lot of information about the vows observed and gifts given. No. 43, *PD*, p. 51.
23. *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa*, Uttaraparva, 12-22 ab.
24. N. G. Chapekar, *op.cit.*, p. 306.
25. Kamalakarabhatta, *op.cit.*, loc.cit.

A Unique Śiva Temple of the Kalacuris at Baghedi

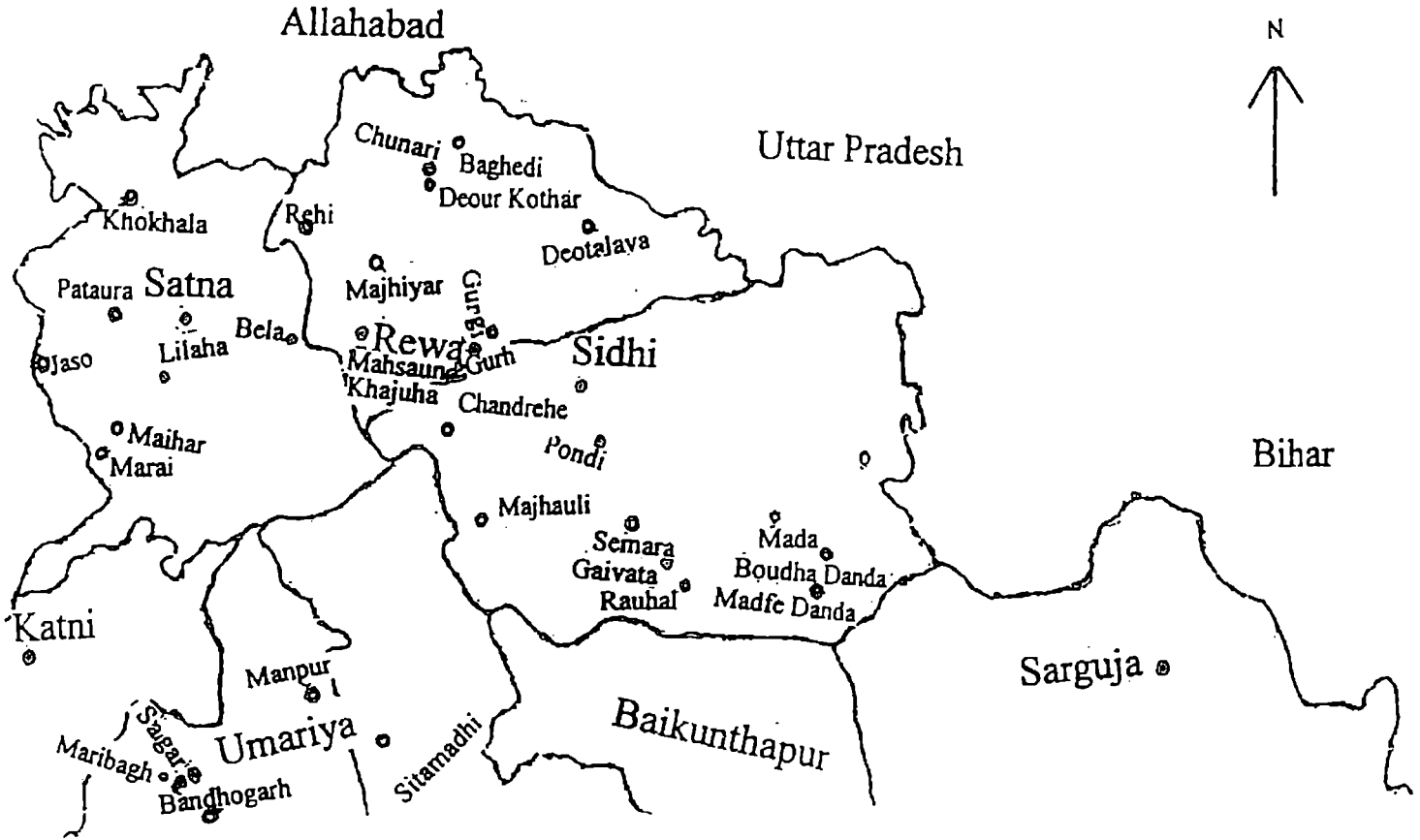
Amrendra K. Singh

As one crosses the Sohagi escarpment of the Kaimur Vindhyas, the hamlet of Baghedi, situated on the right bank of the river Tons at a distance of 80 km. from Rewa, starts peeping. It is 40 km. away from Allahabad on national highway No. 27. The tiny village of Baghedi of usual hustling and bustling is mainly inhabited by the farmers of small land-holdings. Nearly centre of the village occupies ruins of a dilapidated Śiva temple, recently discovered by us (Plates XI A & B). It lies in Teonthar tehsil of Rewa distt., which has been a meeting ground of different religions and cultures. It is almost a landlocked country bordering with the Gangetic plains of Uttar Pradesh on one hand and the plateau of Baghelakhanda in Madhya Pradesh on the other. The richness of the region is well expressed through the monuments and artefacts yielded after a prolonged exploration conducted by us and lasting nearly two decades. The picturesque panorama of the archaeological remains dotting the horizon produces a soothing effect in the eyes of art lovers and critics alike. In the vicinity of the Śiva temple of Baghedi has been explored the Śaivite monastic complex of Chunari,¹ Buddhist stūpa complex of Deour Kothar (Varma, R. K. 1990),² Devi temple of Deour Kothar (Singh, A. K., 1999-2000),³ Buddhist stūpa remains⁴ of Itahava and megalithic burials of Patharauda in Mauganj tehsil of Rewa. Also Chauraghat and Dhakhara are the two new sites of Kalacuri temples discovered recently.⁵

Geomorphological profile

Less than 8 km. south to Baghedi lies the Śaivite monastic complex of Chunari (24° 55' N latitude and 81° 40' E longitude. Survey of India map, 63 H) perched high over the nearby hillock in secluded environs. The complex houses a big platform (*jagatī*) of a temple in ruins. A makeshift one room temple stands over the *jagatī*. The *dvāra* to the temple is adorned with two mutilated images, one on each side. South to the temple is a big monastery (*matha*) consisting of a pillared portico entering into a big hall and three identical rooms. Adjacent to it is a sprawling pond filled with rain water. The whole site bears a deserted look as the architectural and sculptural fragments are scattered all around. After the monastery at Chandrehe (Sidhi) on the banks of the mighty river Son (Cunningham, A.)⁶, the monastery at Chunari is the only surviving monastery of the Kalacuris.

Nearly 3 km south-east to Chunari is the Buddhist stūpa complex of



Location Map of Baghedi and other sites, Madhya Pradesh

Deour Kothar, sprawling in picturesque lush green surroundings. The complex houses monasteries, over fifty big and small stūpas and rock shelters. Some of the rock shelters are with paintings also. Archaeological Survey of India has undertaken the excavation at Stūpa No. 1 in the session 1999-2000 (Mishra, P. K. 2000)⁷. Excavations have revealed a number of inscriptions, railings (*vedikā*) of stone and other artefacts of immense importance. The stūpas were erected in 3rd-2nd cent. BCE during the Maurya-Śuṅga phase. The excavation is still on and a full picture will emerge only after its completion. The Bharhut stūpa of Śuṅga period is about 100 km. from here. The ancient trade route also passes through the region.

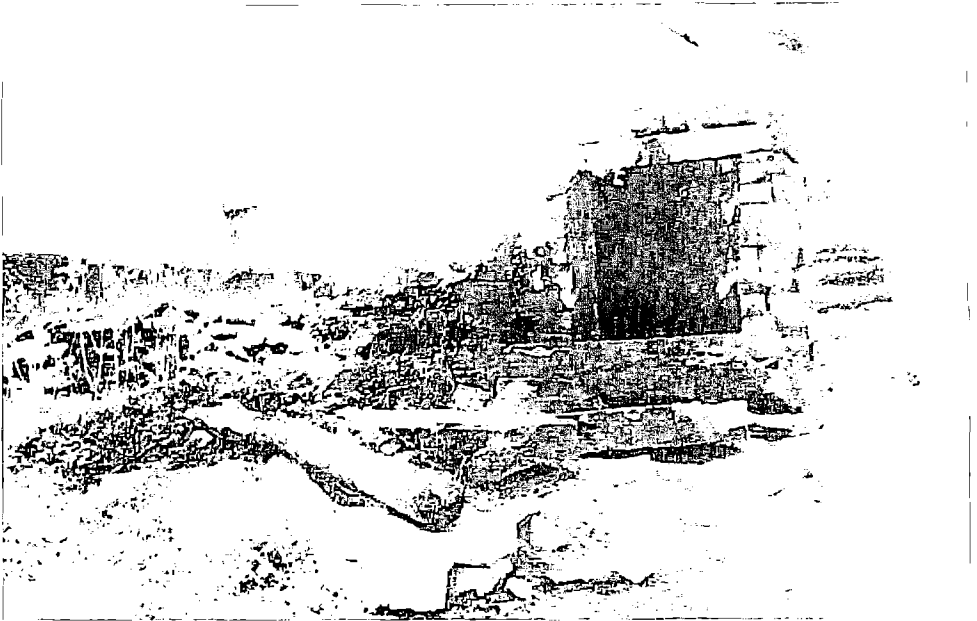
Approximately 3 km. south to Deour Kothar stūpa complex has been discovered the Devī temple of Deour Kothar (CE 800-900), erected by the Kalacuris. Though the temple is unpretentious and small in dimension, the artisans excelled in delineation of its *phāmsanā śikhara*, a peculiar feature not common in the temples of the region.

Six km. west to Chunari has been explored one more Buddhist stūpa site at Itahava near Paira village on the right bank of the river Tamas. The exact nature of the site, however, could be ascertained only after its excavation. In the same region, megalithic burials have also been found at Patharauda village of Mauganj tehsil (Rewa). Though only cist and cairn type of burials are common, menhir are lesser in number.

The region provides subsistence to a host of fauna and flora as well. The wild life includes Bear (*Melursus ursinus*), Sambhar (*Cervus unicolor*), White tiger (*Felis panthera*), Jackal (*Canis aureus*), Fox (*Vulpus benghalensis*) etc. Whereas the flora includes Saal (*Shorea robusta*), Tendu (*Diospyros melanoxylon*), Mahua (*Madhuca latifolia*), Ber (*Zizyphus mauritiana*), Jamun (*Syzygium cumini*), etc. In such a backdrop the Śiva temple of Baghedi came into existence.

The Baghedi temple

As of now the temple of Baghedi stands in ruin. Except the *vedibandha* and the partly preserved *garbhagrha*, the entire surrounding of the temple bears a ghostly look, as if it be a heap of dressed and undressed, big and small blocks of stone (Plates XI A & B). Even so the debris itself speaks of the magnificence of the monument chiselled out of stone. The temple faces east. In elevation the temple consists of the *vedibandha* and *janghā* only. The *vedibandha* comprises of the usual mouldings of *khura*, *kumbha*, *kalaśa* and *kapotapāli*. In between the *kalaśa* and *kapotapāli* is *antarpatṭa*. There are three pilastered niches on the *vedibandha*, one in the centre and two flanking the central niche. They are provided with the diamond motifs, surmounted by the small pediments (Plate XII-A). The exterior of the *janghā* seems to



A Baghedi, Śiva temple, general view, c. CE 1000.



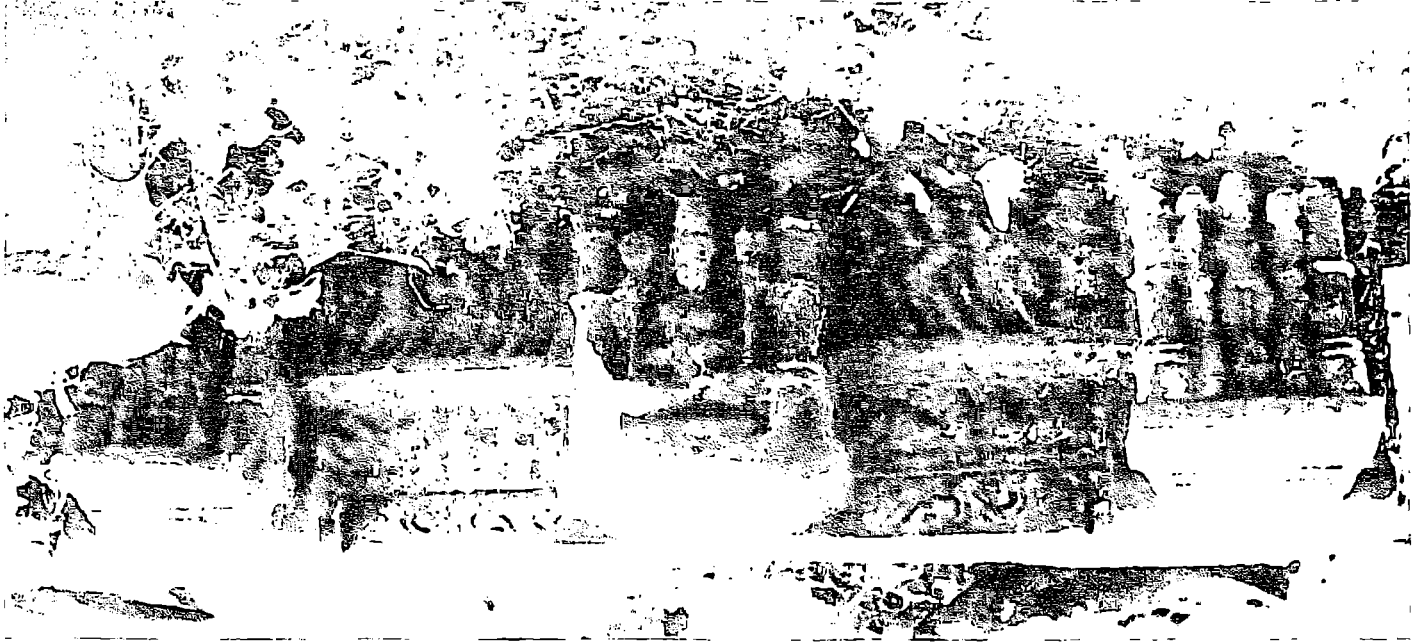
B Baghedi, Śiva temple, back view.



A Baghedi, Śiva temple,
vedibandha.



B Baghedi, Śiva temple,
doorjamb.



Baghedhi, Siva temple, door lintel.



A Baghedi, Śiva temple, river goddess
Yamunā on entrance.



B Baghedi, Śiva temple, river goddess
Gaṅgā on entrance.

be peeled off and the anterior is quite plain, devoid of any ornamentation. The entrance to the *garbhagrha* is intact. One very striking feature of the *garbhagrha*, not known elsewhere in the region is like the Pātāleśvara temple (Amarkantaka). Floor of the sanctum-sanctorum at Baghedi too is lowered deep, reaching where is made possible through the provision of steps leading downwards. As the evolution of temple architecture in the region is concerned, lowered floor level of the sanctum-sanctorum at Baghedi provides it a distinguished place amidst the temples reported so far. Nothing concrete, however, could be said about the sanctum-sanctorum at Baghedi since it is full of debris. The *vitāna* (ceiling) too is lost. On the right wall of the *antarāla* is carved out, though probably of later period, a small one line inscription of few words which could not be deciphered because of its mutilation.

In the nearby pool of debris are lying the lintel (*uttarāṅga*) and door jambs (*dvāra śākhā*) of the *dvāra* of the *garbhagrha* (Pl. XIII). The *lalātabimba* harbours an image of the seated Śiva in a pilastered niche. He holds a trident in right and *khaṭvāṅga* in left hand. The lateral pilastered niches of the architrave are provided with an image of two armed Viṣṇu holding *cakra* and mace and Brahmā with *kamaṇḍalu*. The *navagraha* panel is carved out as usual, with Rāhu and Ketu depicted adjacent to Viṣṇu, while below is shown a long panel of the arabesque work.

The *dvāra śākhās* (2.00 m x 0.72 m) are of *pañcaśākhā* type (Pl. XII-B). The inner and outer *śākhās* are the *patraśākhās* while rest are the *rūpaśākhās* carved in the pilastered niches. But as the figures are quite mutilated ones, their identification is not possible. The river goddesses *Garīgā* and *Yamunā* with their respective mounts are standing in *tribhaṅga* posture (Pls. XIV - A & B). The canopy over them as well as the retinue too is highly impressive.

Fragmented architectural pieces, perforated diamonds, *āmalakas*, *āmalasārikā* and cruciform pillars are found scattered here and there. That the *vitāna* was decorated with dentils is evident with a solitary fragment retrieved from here. A broken image of Ganeśa is lying in the debris. The seated god is pot-bellied and four-armed whose attributes are unidentifiable. He bears an armlet and *hāra*.

Discussion and Conclusion

In want of any epigraphic evidence it becomes arduous to ascertain as to whom the temple was dedicated. Also, since the *garbhagrha* is filled with debris, nothing concrete could be said about the presiding deity of the temple. Likewise, only a conjectural expression about its builder could be made. A single line inscription in the *antarāla* being of later period, could not be relied upon. Only the architectural and sculptural aura of the temple are the alternatives left for identification. Their cross examination with other monuments of the

region could also lend some helping hand in solving the riddle.

Since the *lalātabimba* holds an image of the seated Śiva in a pilastered niche, inference may be drawn that the Baghedi temple was dedicated to Lord Śiva. Same is testified by the local belief also prevalent amongst the villagers. The *garbhagrha* with lowered floor is a unique feature of the temple and hence it becomes the only instance of its genre after the Pātāleśvara temple at Amarkantaka built by the Kalacuris.

Given the architectural and sculptural details, the temple could be dated to CE 1000 and erected under the Kalacuris. The temple has some noteworthy resemblances with that of the Śiva temple of Rehi (Rewa) also (CE 1000) (Singh, A. K., 2002)⁸.

Notes and References

1. Singh, A. K., 2001, "Śaivite monastic complex of the Kalachuris at Chunari in Central India," Paper currently under printing with the *Journal of South Asian Studies*, The British Academy, London. The Complex was explored by us.
2. Varma, Radhakant, 1990. The unknown stūpa complex of Deour Kothar (Rewa) M. P., *Bulletin of the Deccan College Post-Graduate & Research Institute*, Pune 49 : 427-430.
3. Singh, A. K., 1999-2000. "A note on the Devī temple of Deour Kothar, Rewa". *Prāgdhārā*, 10 : 301-302, Lucknow.
4. Explored by us.
5. When intact, Chauraghat temple would have been a magnificent edifice, wherein an array of Brahmanic divinities were carved on various parts of the temple. Dhakhara temple, however, represents an early phase of the evolution of temple architecture.
6. Cunningham, A., *Archaeological Survey of India - Report*, XIII : 9.
7. Mishra, P. K., 2000, *Deour Kothar (Barhat), Rewa : A unique recently excavated Buddhist site in Central India*, Archaeological Survey of India, Bhopal.
8. Singh, A. K., 2002, *Temples of the Kalachuri Period*, New Delhi.

Illustrations

XI-A Baghedi, Śiva temple, general view, c. CE 1000

XI-B Baghedi, Śiva temple, back view

XII-A Baghedi, Śiva temple, *vedībāndha*

XII-B Baghedi, Śiva temple, doorjamb

XIII Baghedi, Śiva temple, door lintel

XIV-A Baghedi, Śiva temple, river goddess Yamunā on entrance

XIV-B Baghedi, Śiva temple, river goddess Gaṅgā on entrance

Poets, Scribes and Engravers of Jejākabhukti:

A Study Based on Candella Epigraphs

Arvind K. Singh

This paper attempts to briefly develop a profile of the professional category consisting of poets, scribes and engravers, related to preparation of the epigraphs,¹ who flourished in the Jejākabhukti region from the tenth to fourteenth centuries. In general, the inscriptions of the Candellas of Jejākabhukti are composed by distinguished poets, written (possibly copied) by skilled scribes, and incised by engravers. The engraver incised the letters according to the drawing to retain the accuracy and perform his work neatly. However, this practice was not universal, as in some instances, the job of all three categories, namely the author, the scribe and the engraver was performed by the same person. Besides, the relevant epigraphic data provide significant details concerning these professionals, and sometimes mention their predecessors as well as native place, role, occupation and designation as applied to poets, scribes and engravers. This information is tabulated below.

I.

Poets

Some of the best specimens of the Candella epigraphic literature, embellished with flight of fancy and imagination, are Khajuraho inscription of Yaśovarman, Khajuraho inscription of Dhaṅgadeva, Kālañjara stone inscription of Paramardideva, Ajayagadh stone inscription of the time of Bhojadeva. These epigraphs are the best specimens of the literature of the time, however, some other lack 'vigour, inspiration and originality.'² It is obvious from the examples of good epigraphic poetry that high talented poets were employed for composing the epigraphs of the Candella rulers of Jejākabhukti that have been catalogued here. The years mentioned within the brackets, just after the personal name, indicate the date (in Christian year) of his composing epigraphs.

1. Mādhava (954). The poet Mādhava, son of Dedda a learned grammarian, composed the eulogy of Khajuraho stone inscription of Yaśovarman (No. 98)³ (vv. 46-47). His father was a grammarian whose fame as a poet was celebrated in tales by wise men with repute. The language Sanskrit of the present inscription is generally correct and the record is metrically composed in ornate style and fluent language.

2. Rāma (999)⁴. Khajuraho stone inscription of Dhaṅgadeva, which was renewed in CE 1117 (114) was composed by the illustrious Rāma who was clever in composing pleasing expressions and also was the ocean of knowledge.⁵ He was the son of Balabhadra, and grandson of Nandana who was the foremost among the poets, belonged to the Śabara family and was a resident of Tarkārika “*Tārkkārika pravarasāvaravamsajanmā Śrī Nandanah kavirabhūtkavicakravartī / tasyātmajah samajani śrutapāradrśvā śrīmāṁstapodhikabalo Balabhadranāmā // Sūnuh sūnṛtagīrīndramahimā bhadrasya tasyābhavadbhūpālairbhuvī pūjītāmdhṛiranaghaḥ sāhityaratnākaraḥ Śrī Rāmo ramanīyasūktiracanā cāturyadhuryaḥ kṛtī teneyam vihitā praśastiracanā bhaktyālaye śalinaḥ //* (vv 57-58).
3. Devapāla (1090). Kāyastha, Thakkura, Karaṇika Devapāla, and son of Payā was the author of the Kālañjara stone inscription of the time of Kīrtivarman (110). He is described as “*vinaya vidyāsatkavipadapadmasevinā kavinā*” (vv. 10-11).
4. Jayapāla (1184). The eulogy of the fragmentary Mahoba inscription of the time of Paramardideva (136) is the composition of Jayapāla, the son of Sūhila and grandson of Hallaṇa of the illustrious Vāstavya family. His composition is correct, the extant portion of the record containing 20 stanzas in the usual embellished style.
5. Devadhara (1195). Baṭeśvara stone inscription of the time of Paramardideva (139) composed in an artistic ‘*kāvya*’ style by Devadhara. The genealogy of the poet introduced here with Lakṣmīdhara, who was an ornate of the Gauḍa family, had a son named Gadādharma, a supreme chief of poet who first among the learned was the great minister of peace and war of Paramardideva. His son, the chief of poets, Devadhara, has composed this unequal eulogy: “*Gauḍānvayasya tilakasya Gadādharākhyo Lakṣmīdharasya tanayaḥ kavicakravartī / vidyāvatānsatām sa paramaḥ Paramardideva saṁdhānavigraha mahāsacivo babhūva // tasyātmajo Devadharaḥ kavīndraḥ praśastimetāmatulāñcakāra* (verses 30-31).
6. Paramardin (1201). King Paramardin, who was on the Candella throne from 1166 to 1202 CE was himself a poet and composed the Kālañjara stone inscription paying homage to Tripurāri (140). The composition is in a highly flourished *kāvya* style and abounds in figures using long compounded expression, speaks high poetic talent. There are also some minor types of dramatic specimens of his time, written by his minister Vatsarāja,⁶ but not known from epigraphic sources.
7. Amara (1288). The text of Ajayagadh stone inscription of the time of Bhojavarman (149) is the composition of Amara.

II

Scribes

The author of the records many times wrote it in the sense that they gave the final draft of the record to the scribe who was proficient for writing (i. e. copying) it on stone, metal and other similar objects with a skilful hand.⁷ For clear and beautiful writing of the royal inscription, in general, skilled scribes were employed.⁸ Such scribes of the record of Candellas of Jeḷākabhukti are listed here.

1. Jaddha (954). Khajuraho stone inscription of Yaśovarman (98) eagerly written in pleasing letters by Jaddha, who was the son of Jayaguṇa, and was the writer of the legal documents, the Gauḍa, who knew the Sanskrit language: "*Samskṛtabhāṣāviduṣā Jayaguṇaputreṇa kautukāllikhitā // rucirākṣarā praśastih karaṇika Jaddhena Gauḍena*" // (vv. 46-47).
2. Yaśahpāla (999). Kāyastha Yaśahpāla was the writer of the original Khajuraho stone inscription of Dhaṅgadeva (114). His dexterity in grammar '*padavidyā*' is mentioned: "*Na samkīrṇṇā varṇṇāh kvacidih na sāpatnyakaluṣāh sthitāh Kāyasthena prathitakulaśīlojvaladhiyā / Yaśahpālenāyam viditapadavidyena likhitāh praśastervinyāsaḥ kṛtayugasamācārasadr̥ṣaḥ*" // (verse 59).
3. Yaśobhaṭa (1051). The writer of the Charkhari copper-plate inscription of Devavarman (108) was Yaśobhaṭa, the *aksa-patalika*, i. e. the writer of legal procedure. The Sanskrit language of the record is not up to the mark. It is believed that some of the letters and signs of the original draft were misunderstood both by the writer and the engraver (line 23).
4. Jayapāla (1117). Eulogy of Khajuraho stone inscription of Dhaṅgadeva (114) was rewritten by the Kāyastha Jayapāla of the Gauḍa family. The letters of his writing are called "*kumudākārāṇi sarppatkarah*" (verse 64).
5. Sūḍha (1033, 1035). The writer of the legal document Sūḍha has written the document of Augasi copper-plate inscription of Madanavarman (118) (line 19), and Bharat Kala Bhavan copper-plate inscription of Madanavarman (119). It is said that he belonged to Vāstavya family, and he describes his letters as "*sphuṭalalitaniveśairakṣaraistāmrapaṭṭam*" (verse 12).
6. Prthvīdhara (1167, 1171, 1173). He belonged to the Vāstavya family of the exalted name and was the writer of three copper-plate grants of Paramardideva, namely Semra copper-plate grant (126), Ichchhavar copper-plate inscription (129) and Mahoba copper-plate inscription (130).

He wrote the document with distinct and elegantly formed characters, had performed meritorious act and possessed all good qualities and was the writer of religious documents. In reviewing the language, it may be noted that it is occasionally incorrect, particularly in the long list of names of the donees, which are in their local forms.

7. Śubhānanda (1176, 1178). Pachhar copper-plate inscription of Paramardideva (131), and Charkhari copper-plate inscription of Paramardideva (132) were written by Śubhānanda of the Vāstavya family in distinct and elegantly formed characters. He knew all the *śāstras* and was the writer of legal documents.
8. Viṣṇuka (1182). The writer Viṣṇuka of the Bharat Kala Bhavan copper-plate inscription of Paramardideva (134) is designated as '*dharmalekhin*' and '*thakkura*'.
9. Kartṛpāla (1184). Fragmentary Mahoba inscription of the time of Paramardideva (136) probably written on stone by Kartṛpāla, whose name alone is fortunately preserved in verse 18 of the epigraph.
10. Dharmadhara (1195). The writer of Baṭeśvara stone inscription of the time of Paramardideva (139) was Dharmadhara. He was the son of Gadādhara and grandson of Laksmīdhara, and was the brother of Devadhara who was the author of present inscription.
- 11-12. Padma and Deūka (1201). Kālañjara stone inscription of Paramardideva (140), which was the composition of king Paramardideva himself was written on the stone and also incised by the wise Padma. He is described superior to all artists and the favourite of the valiant king Paramardin. His grandfather is mentioned as an eminent artist, and his father was Anṛṇa. He performed the work in company of his younger brother Deūka: "*Viraśrī Paramardipārthivapaterasya prasādaikabhūh pautrasadguṇaśilpino Anṛṇasutaḥ Padmābhidhānaḥ Sudhīḥ / Deūkeṇa sahanujenatilakaḥ śilpakriyāśālināmālikhya svayamullilekha girijābharttuḥ kṛtī*" //
- 13-14. Viśveśvara and Gaṅgādhara (1212). Dhureti copper-plate inscription of the time of Trailokyamalla (143) was written jointly by two village Pandits who had a little knowledge of Sanskrit as can be gathered from the gross errors occurring therein. Besides, some portion of the present epigraph agrees very closely with the corresponding portion of the Kalacuri Vijayasimha's grant.
15. Ratnapāla (1261). He figures as the scribe of Ajayagadh rock inscription of the time of Viravarman (145); his father was the poet Haripāla and grandfather was the poet Vatsarāja.

16. Suhai (1288). Ajayagadh stone inscription of the time of Bhojavarman (149) was written by Paṇḍita Suhai, the son of the illustrious *thakkura* Ayan, who was in charge of the fort at Jayapura (Ajayagadh) with its highway.
17. Rāmapāla (1289). Paṇḍita Rāmapāla was the writer of Charakhari copper-plate inscription of Hammiravarman (151).
18. Jaipāla (1308). Bamhni Saṭī stone inscription (152) reveals the name of its writer as Paṇḍita Jaipāla.

III

Engravers

Inscriptions of the Candellas of Jejākabhukti also furnish information regarding their engravers, listed here.

1. The name of the engraver of Khajuraho stone inscription of Yaśovarman of CE 954 (98) who was an artisan (*rūpakāra*) is lost in line 28. However, we may observe the carefulness devoted to the record by the mason in its technical execution.
2. Sirṁha (999). The engraver Sirṁha had mastered the art of writing, engraved the original Khajuraho inscription of Dhaṅgadeva (114): "*Lipijñānavidhijñena prājñena guṇasālinā / Sirṁheneyam samutkirṇṇā sadvarṇṇā rūpasālinī*" // (verse 62).
3. Ulhaṇa (1133,1135). Augasi copper-plate inscription of Madanavarman (118), and Bharat Kala Bhavan copper-plate inscription of Madanavarman (119) are said to have been incised by the skilful Ulhaṇa who belonged to Rītikāra (brazier) family: "*vijñani Rītikārakulodbhavaḥ / uccakāra śubhākārāmimāmakṣarasamhatim*". (v. 13).
4. Sūpraṭa (1151). He was sūtradhāra who incised Ajayagadh stone inscription of the time of Madanavarman (121).
5. Palhaṇa (1167,1171,1173,1176,1178,1182). He was the son of Rājpāla and incised six copper-plate inscriptions of Paramardideva, viz. the Semra copper-plate inscription (126), Ichchhvara copper-plate inscription (129), Mahoba copper-plate inscription (130), Pachhar copper-plate inscription (131), Charkhari copper-plate inscription (132), and Bharat Kala Bhavan copper-plate inscription (134).
6. Devarāja (1184). Fragmentary Mahoba stone inscription of the time of

Paramardideva (136) was engraved by *śilpī* Devarāja, the son of Somarāja: “*Somarājātmajeneyam Devarājena śilpinā / cāruvarṇṇā samutkirṇā śilpasarvvasvedinā*”//.

7. Mahārāja (1195). He is described as the son of Somarāja who engraved Baṭeśvara stone inscription of the time of Paramardideva (139): “*Ucchakāra camatkārakārah sarvvaśilpinām / dhiro Mahārājah Somarājāṅgabhūri-mām*”//.
- 8-9. Padma and Deūka (1201). Kālañjara stone inscription of Paramardideva (140) was written on the stone and also incised by the wise Padma, superior to all artists and the favourite of the valiant king Paramardideva. He was the grandson of an eminent artist, and the son of Anṛṇa. In his work Padma was assisted by his younger brother Deūka.
10. Siruka (1212). He was the engraver of Dhureti copper-plate inscription of the time of Trailokyamalla (143).
11. Rāma (1261). Ajayagadh rock inscription of the time of Viravarmana (145) mentions the name of its engraver as Rāma: “*Ucchakāra viśuddhātmā vidagdhō Rāmanāmakah*”.
12. Gopāla (1288). He is known as the engraver of Ajayagadh stone inscription of the time of Bhojavarman (149).

IV

It is interesting to note that some poets, scribes and engravers mention names of their family members, which helps in understanding their family background. Many such families are encountered in the Candella inscriptions. An inscription that was written on by *karaṇika* Jaddha mentions the name of his father Jayaguṇa who belonged to the Gauḍa family. The eulogy of a Mahoba inscription was composed by Jayapāla, who was the son of Sūhila and grandson of Hallaṇa of the illustrious Vāstavya family. Somarāja had two sons: Mahārāja who was a *śilpī* and Devarāja who was a *rūpakāra*. The review of the epigraphic data also shows the practice of the same profession for two or three generations in the same family. The father of the poet Mādhava, Dedda, was a grammarian whose fame as a poet was celebrated in tales by wise men with repute. Poet Rāma was the son of Balabhadra and grandson of Nandana who was the foremost among the poets and belonged to the Śabara family of Tarkārika. The grandfather of the writer and engraver Padma was an eminent artist. His father was Anṛṇa. The younger brother of Padma was Deūka who helped him in the work. Such information indicates continuation

of same profession from generation to generation in the same family; and sometimes pairing or teaming of two persons of the same family for the same work, as in the case of Padma and his brother. Such instances extend the possibility of performance of the same act by professionals through generations hence proficiency of their professions resulted from their family background. Probably, professions were hereditary because the child had better facilities of learning the art and craft under the care and guidance of his elder family members. It indicates that family was the basic unit for necessary training and professional competence.

References to Palhaṇa, Padma and others clearly indicate that they were not merely specialists in their trade and vocation but had excellent talents to perform different kinds of work with skill. Padma and his younger brother Deūka were not only experts in writing the beautiful clear letters but also able to engrave inscriptions. Of these, Padma is described as 'able' one who was superior to all artists. He was as eminent as his father and, in addition, he was a favourite of the Candella ruler Paramardideva. When the latter composed a eulogy for Śiva, it was written and engraved by Padma and his younger brother Deūka helped him. Palhaṇa's case will prove that some artists switched over from stonework to metalwork. He is known at first from Alhaghat inscription of the time of the Kalacuri Narasiṃhadeva of CE 1159⁹ where he is mentioned as a member of the team of *sūtradhāra* Kamalasiṃha who along with Palhaṇa, Kokasa and others seems to have built a *ghāṭa* and temple of Ambikā. Subsequent to this, Palhaṇa is mentioned in six Candella inscriptions as *pīṭalakāra* (VS 1223), *śilpī* and *vaidagdhi viśvakarmā* (VS 1228), *vijñānika* (VS 1230), *śilpī* and *vaidagdhi viśvakarmā* (VS 1233), *śilpī* and *vaidagdhi viśvakarmā* (VS 1236), and finally without any title (VS 1239). This indicates that Palhaṇa was equally proficient in working on stone as well as metal and his proficiency and experience helped him to graduate from one position to the other in the professional hierarchy of artists. Starting from the Kalacuri region in CE 1159 as an ordinary worker in the Satna region, he eventually moved over to the Candella region and from the status of a *pīṭalakāra* in VS 1223 to the position of an expert in the science of *viśvakarmā* in course of time.¹⁰

The records of the Candellas also describe the merit and skill of the professionals. A laudatory account was the composition of the poet Mādhava. His father Dedda was a grammarian whose fame as a poet was celebrated in tales by wise men with repute. The illustrious Rāma was clever in composing pleasing expressions and also was an ocean of knowledge. The scribe Jaddha was proficient in Sanskrit language, "*sanskṛtabhāṣāviduṣa*", and he wrote in pleasing letters, "*rucirākṣarā*". Kāyastha Yaśahpāla's dexterity in grammar '*padavidyā*' is mentioned. The alphabet of Jayapāla is called "*kumudākārāṇi sarpatkaraḥ*", while Sūdhā's writing is described as "*sphuṭalalītaniveśairakṣara-stāmrapaṭṭam*." Prthvīdhara, who wrote the document with distinct and elegantly

formed characters under the order of the king Paramardideva is stated to have belonged to the Vāstavya family of the exalted name that had performed meritorious acts and possessed all good qualities, and was the writer of religious documents. Śubhānanda of the Vāstavya family knew all the *śāstras*. Engraver Simha, a *rūpaśālin*, is praised as an expert in palaeography. He is described as an intelligent and meritorious artist who could carve beautiful letters, "*lipijñāna vidhijñena prājñena guṇaśālinā | Simheneyam samutkirṇā sadvarṇnārūpaśālinī*". The work of Ulhaṇa is described as "*śubhākārāmimāmakṣarasamhatim*". Devarāja's engraving is called "*cāruvarṇā*" who knew "*śilpasarvvasvavedinā*". Artists were not narrow specialists in their trade. For instance, Palhaṇa was a metal worker, but he was also a *śilpī* and a *vijñānika* adept in the *viśvakarmā* tradition of art and architecture. Mahārāja is described as a person of patient disposition (*dhīra*) who could work wonders (*camatkāra*).

The designations and titles of professionals are notable in signifying a variety of roles. These, among other consist of '*thakkura*' (a rank indicating of feudal status), *akṣapaṭalika* (keeper of the record), *karaṇika* (writer of the legal document), *dharmalekhī* (writer of the legal document). The engravers who were artisans are mentioned in inscriptions by various titles and designations as *sūtradhāra*, *rūpakāra*, *śilpī*, *vijñānika*, *ṭitalakāra*, *vaidagdhi viśvakarmā* among others. The discussion leads to the conclusion regarding a hierarchy in the professional structure and also indicating successive rise of status in an ascending order, as seen in the case of Palhaṇa.

The span of activity of a particular poet, scribe or engraver, possibly, may be understood by the help of references to one and the same person in the epigraphs of different dates. In general, it is noteworthy that engravers kept changing, while poets and scribes of the epigraphs enjoyed a longer term of service,¹¹ however in the case of Palhaṇa the story is different. He continued to function for about sixteen years for the Candella rulers, while feudatories and ministers, the *lekhakas*, who were subordinate bureaucrats, changed frequently. For instance, services of no less than three *lekhakas*, namely Prthvīdhara, who was Kāyastha of a Vāstavya family, Śubhānanda of Vāstavya family, and *thakkura* Viṣṇuka changed, while Palhaṇa continued his work.

The migration of professionals from distant places in Jejākabhukṭi is evident from the references in the inscriptions. The family of the poet Rāma belonged to Tarkārika. Most of the scribes are related to the Vāstavya family or Gauḍa lineage. The Kāyastha Jayapāla, who belonged to the Gauḍa country, rewrote Khajuraho stone inscription of Dhaṅgadeva. References of Palhaṇa describe him as coming from Satna region and moving over to the Candella region. The occurrences of the name of the same artist in the inscriptions of two different dynasties indicate that the change of ruling dynasty in a locality

did not affect the fortune of the artist. Professionally, an artist was free to move from place to place and change patronage at will. His skill therefore seems to have been his guarantee for work.

Notes and References

1. There were manuals for the guidance of the responsible persons for the preparations of documents. *Lokaprakāśa* of Kshemendra Vyasadasa shows how different kinds of bonds, bills of exchange (*huṇḍī*) etc., were to be drafted while the *Lekhapañcāśikā* indicates how private letters as well as land grants, treatise etc. should be drawn. Likewise, *Lekhapaddhati* offers a large number of specimens of letters and documents.
2. Harihar Vitthal Trivedi, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. VII, Part I, A. S. I., New Delhi, 1991, p. 199.
3. Numbers within brackets indicate inscription numbers in Harihar Vitthal Trivedi, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. VII, Part 3 (Inscriptions of the Chandellas, Kachchhapaghatas and two Minor Dynasties), A.S.I., New Delhi 1989.
4. Most of the scholars, on the basis of F. Kielhorn's decipherment of the Viśvanātha temple inscription, have accepted the date of the inscription VS 1159. But Cunningham's reading should be correct. He mentions the date as (VS) 1156. See, Arvind Kumar Singh, "Fresh reading of four small Khajuraho inscriptions", *Prāchya Pratibhā*, Vol. XIII, PP. 101-105.
5. It is believed that man to become a poet must equip himself with 'vidyā' (learning) and 'upavidyā' (auxiliaries). Rājasekhara mentions in the *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* (*Gaekwad Oriental Series*, p. 49) that grammar, lexicography, metrics and rhetoric constitute essentially 'vidyā' or more precisely, 'kāvyavidyā', i. e. requisite learning for making poetry and the sixty-four fine arts, for instance, painting, music, sculpture and so on, or 'upavidyā' or accessories: 'nāma - dhātu - pārāyaṇa abhidhāna - kośaḥ chhandovicitiḥ alamkāra - tatrañca kāvyā vidyāḥ kalāstu catuḥṣaṣṭhir upavidyāḥ'.
6. All edited in *Gaekwad Oriental Series*, no. VIII, 1918, Baroda.
7. In many of the cases, the writings were done by the professional scribe of the court and the engravers incised the letters according to drawing, although sometimes the engravers themselves wrote the text on the plates or engraved the text without drawing the letters on them. The practice of writing the text of a document on the plates first in ink is clearly indicated by Kasia Copper-Plate inscription, which bears 13 lines of writing of which only the first line is incised while the remaining 12 lines are written in black ink. In some records, the letters of which are painted on stone, the intention of engraving them at a later date remains un-materialised. This was meant to facilitate the work of engraving and also to ensure the correctness of the inscription. For details see, D. C. Sircar, *Indian Epigraphy*, Motilal Banarsidass, 1965, p. 85; Arvind Kumar Singh, "Impact of writing materials on the evolution of Brāhmī script", *Studies in Indian History and Culture*, Varanasi, 1986, pp. 133-140.
8. Very often expert craftsmen undertook the task of engraving. The lay public, though well educated, sought to avoid writing as the scribe's handwriting was distinctly

superior. This is evident from the remark of Cāṅkya that even though written with utmost care the letters of a Śrotrīya (Vedic scholar) like himself would be far from clear (*Mudrārākṣasa*, Act I) and he prefers the services of a scribe; and when the final draft is brought to him he admires the letters. For detail see, C. Sivaramamurti, *Indian Epigraphy and South Indian Scripts, Bulletin of the Madras Government Museum*, Vol. III, no. 4, 1952, (reprinted, 1966), pp. 32-35.

9. V. V. Mirashi, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, IV, A.S.I., 1955, no. 62.
10. R. N. Misra says that Palhaṇa is mentioned in six Candella inscriptions chronologically as *pitalakāra* (VS 1223), *śilpī* (VS 1228), *vijñānika* (VS 1230), *vaidagdhi viśvakarmā* (VS 1232), *śilpī* and *vaidagdhi viśvakarmā* (VS 1236) and finally again as a *pitalakāra* (VS 1239) and he further mentions that he rose from the status of a *pitalakāra* in VS 1223 to the position of an expert in the science of Viśvakarmā in course of 13 years from VS 1223 to 1236 ("Artists under the Chandellas", *Khajuraho in Perspective*, ed. K. K. Chakravarty and others, Bhopal 1994, p. 212). However, Palhaṇa is found mentioned as *śilpī* and *vaidagdhi viśvakarmā* in VS 1228 and in VS 1239 his name simply occurs without the title *pitalakāra*.
11. See, A. K. Singh, "Scribes and Engravers of the Gahaḍavāla Records", *Prāgdhārā*, No. 3 (1992-93), pp. 149-152; and "Poets, Scribes and Engravers of Dakṣiṇa Kośala: A Study Based on Kalachūrī Epigraphs", *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Vol. 46, 1997, pp. 219-226.

North-West India as Described by the Greek and Assyrian Travellers of the First Century

G. P. Singh

Apollonius, the Greek traveller, accompanied by a learned Assyrian called Damis travelled in different parts of north-western India in CE 43-44 for acquiring the first hand knowledge of its history and culture. The former recorded all that he saw and heard in course of his visit to India in his diary or notebook and the latter in his journal. Their works along with other relevant sources were later utilized by one of the early Greek historians called Philostratus the Athenian (c. CE 170-245) for writing the biography of Apollonius.

Philostratus, the biographer of Apollonius, was born at Lemnos and studied at Athens but flourished in the reign of the Roman Emperor Severus (c. CE 193-230). The Emperor's wife, Julia Domna, who was famous for her patronage of men of learning and genius, handed over the memoirs of Damis (bequeathed to her by his descendants) to Philostratus with a request to write the life of Apollonius on the basis of its contents. But Philostratus not only utilized the memoirs of Damis but also epistles or letters of Apollonius which were then in circulation and an account of his career at Aegae by a Roman historian, Marius Maximus (c. CE 165-230), to accomplish his task. The Empress, however, did not live to see the book which saw the light of the day in or some time after CE 217. It was written in Greek language. It is divided into eight books of which the second and third deal with his Indian travels. According to this biographical work, Apollonius was born about the beginning of the Christian era at Tyana, a city in Cappadocia (Asia Minor). He was a philosopher of the School of Pythagoras. It was his cherished desire to extend the frontiers of his knowledge by travelling into foreign countries. He is said to have travelled extensively. In the earlier part of his life he visited Egypt, Italy and Persia. Later, he turned his attention to the East. He wanted to explore the "wonders of India and make himself acquainted with the learning and wisdom of the Brahmans, the fame of which had been spread in the West by the companions of Alexander." He along with his Assyrian companion from Nineveh reached Babylon where they halted for some time. Therefrom they along with a guide supplied by the Parthian King Bardanes (c. CE 42-45) set out to visit India. First, they entered Afghanistan by crossing the Caucasus (Hindukuša), north of Kabul. Further, westward of the Indus they crossed the Kophen (the Kabul river) and visited Kabul and the adjoining regions.

After crossing the Indus into the Punjab eastward they made some stay at Taxila (Takṣaśīlā). Having passed the Hydraotes (Rāvī) they pursued their way through several "countries" to the Hyphasis (Beas) beyond which they could not travel. On the return journey they visited Sindh as their itinerary shows. From the narratives of their journey it appears that they were provided with different new guides and interpreters proficient in the Greek language at different places in India in the course of their journey. They are believed to have interacted with all classes of population during the journey. Philostratus has furnished an original and authoritative account of their travels in his biography of Apollonius which is based on the information supplied by the travellers themselves in their respective works. It is very useful for throwing light on early history and culture of north-west India to about the middle of the first century CE.

The travellers' accounts of society, economy, polity, religion, philosophy, education, urban life and art and architecture of the people of the north-west and that of the foreign invasions are preserved in the work of Philostratus.¹

The social structure of the people of the north-west was somewhat different from that of other parts of India. The frequent allusions to the Brāhmaṇas called "Sophoi" (Sophists or "Teachers of Wisdom") and philosophers in the accounts of the travellers² give us an impression that they occupied the highest position in the society. They were held in high esteem. Their supremacy was well established in the society. They followed a variety of pursuits. Some were engaged in public affairs and attended the king as counsellors. Some of them were advisors of the king in the management of his estates. The others practised religious austerities, performed religious rites and rituals, conducted sacrifices and imparted religious instructions to their respective disciples.³ They had their own chiefs who were invested with some authority in religious and administrative matters which speaks of their hierarchical system.⁴ Except the Brāhmaṇas there is no reference to any other upper or lower social class despite the fact that the Kṣatriyas had been living in both the Punjab and Sindh and the Sodrai or Śūdras in only Sindh since time immemorial along with them. The traditional social system might have possibly undergone some changes by the time of the visit of travellers. The four-fold division of the society was no longer acceptable to them. The classes and castes as such were conspicuous by their absence in their society at that time. There is no mention of either their social stratification or social distinctions or caste restrictions in the travellers' accounts of the subject.

The north-west Indian society was basically patriarchal. The joint family system was followed. The mode of life was simple. Music, singing and dancing were the three principal means of amusement of the people. The kinship system formed very important part of their social life. The marriage customs

were based on the rules of both endogamy and exogamy. The mutual choice of bride and bridegroom played its own role in the arrangement and performance of the marriages. The dowry system was in vogue. We are told by the travellers that they were informed by the contemporary king (Parthian) at Taxila that his father had "married the daughter of the Hydaspian king (whose kingdom was on the river Jhelum) and received with her seven villages as pin-money."⁵ Monogamy was the rule and polygamy the exception. The women did not occupy high position in the society because of the brahmanical orthodoxy. They did not enjoy freedom in any walk of life. The incidental notices of slavery have also been made in the travellers' accounts. In Taxila, the travellers saw some male servants with the king. They were employed for domestic purposes.⁶ We do not come across any evidence of women slaves in their accounts. However, slavery was not a recognised social institution.

The travellers have provided a detailed account of the economic activities or material life of the people of north-west India. The most extensive and the most fertile plain in the whole country, irrigated in all directions and well-cultivated, which the travellers speak of⁷ is no other than the fertile territory of the Punjab (eastward of the Indus) watered by the Indus and its five tributaries, namely, the Ravi, the Jhelum, the Chenab, the Sutlej and the Beas. About the land and its produce they observe: "The land here is the best in India, black and very productive; its wheat stalks are like reeds, and its beans three times as large as the Egyptian; its sesame (sesamum) and millet are also extraordinarily fine. Here, too, grow those nuts, which for their rarity and size are, as a sort of curiosity, often found in Greek temples. The grapes of the country however are small, like the Lydian and Maeonian..."⁸ Like other parts of India, in the north-west too agriculture was the backbone of economy. It was the means of subsistence for the bulk of population. The agricultural production was very high because of fertility of land and facility of irrigation. All kinds of crops were produced. The people had achieved self-sufficiency in food. On the heights they witnessed various kinds of aromatic plants and the cinnamon-tree, and in the hollows the pepper-plant and frankincense-bearing trees. The pepper was highly valued by the Indians.⁹

The Indus region was also fertile. In the words of the travellers: "The Indus like the Nile overflows the country, and deposits a fertilising mud, which as in Egypt, prepares the land for the husbandman (cultivator)."¹⁰ In the Punjab and Sindh, there were some artisans and craftsmen and other occupational groups engaged in various avocations. Some indigenous industry also flourished along with arts and crafts. There was a class of metalworkers in Taxila. They made several objects of gold, silver, copper, bronze and iron. There were some weavers, leather workers and manufacturers of cotton dress. The paper made from the papyrus plant was used for writing. Taxila continued to be the centre of trade and commerce. The people were engaged in different

occupations and professions for the sole purpose of earning their livelihood. The travellers inform us that "The people at Taxila wore cotton, the produce of the country, and sandals made of the fibre or bark of the papyrus and leather cap when it rained. The better classes were clad in byssus (having a silky appearance)... This byssus (a stuff looking like silky bunch of filament or thread used for making dress, etc) grows on a tree... it is exported into Egypt for sacred uses."¹¹ The travellers' statements that "... The Indian money was of orichalcum and bronze—purely Indian and not stamped like the Roman and Median Coins"¹² throw some light on the coinage system.

The prevailing form of government in some parts of north-western India at the time of the visit of travellers was monarchy. The city-state of Nysa at the foot of the mountain called Meros between the Kabul river and the Indus or in the valleys of Kohimor in the Swat was "ruled by a king"¹³. That city or hill state was one of the famous seats of aristocratic oligarchy at the time of Alexander's invasion and also in the post-Alexandrian period but later it adopted the monarchical form of government the reason and the exact period of which are still unknown to us.

There was hereditary monarchy in Taxila which can be attested to by what its king himself told to the travellers. The relatives of the king sometimes, according to Indian custom, acted as regents. The king was assisted by nobles in running the government. The city was governed by good laws. The king used to transact the business of his kingdom (between the Indus and the Jhelum) and to decide the cases according to the law of the land.¹⁴ The punishments were awarded according to the nature of crimes. Strabo (c. 64 BCE - 21 CE) also makes a mention of the most excellent laws of Taxila.¹⁵ The king "told his visitors among other things that he paid blackmail to a tribe of barbarians on his borders for the protection of his dominions against the attacks of other barbarous tribes."¹⁶

Porus the elder also ruled his kingdom between the Jhelum and the Chenab according to the monarchical constitution. All the sovereigns in the Kabul and the Punjab at that time were independent.

The Indus region was then under the rule of the Satrap.¹⁷

From the accounts of the travellers it distinctly appears that the people in the north-west were by and large followers of the brahmanical culture. However, there were Buddhists few and far between. The travellers like the classical historians failed to notice the distinction between Brahmanism and Buddhism.¹⁸ There were two sects of philosophers, viz., "Brahmans" and "Sarmanes" (Skt. Śramaṇa and Pāli Samana) which correspond to the "Brahman" sages or ascetics and the Buddhist monks respectively.

The sun worship was prevalent among the Brāhmaṇas.¹⁹ The sacrifices formed an integral part of the religious practices of the people. Where the travellers crossed the Indus the natives told them that "when the season for the rise of the river is at hand, the king sacrifices on its banks black bulls and horses and after the sacrifice throws into the river a gold measure like a corn measure... for an abundant harvest, or for such a moderate rise of the river as would benefit the land."²⁰

The age-old tradition of receiving the education under the care and guidance of the Brāhmaṇas continued to exist in the north-west till about the middle of the first century CE. We are informed by the travellers that the "Brahmans" before admitting anybody for educating him used to "inquire into his character and parentage."²¹ They like the sophists of the Greece used to teach various subjects to their pupils. The philosophy was given the highest importance as a subject of study. Besides "astrology and divination," the subjects relating to "those sacrifices and invocations in which the gods delight" were also taught by them.²²

Both the travellers during the three days of their sojourn at Taxila²³ learnt from its king (who possessed the knowledge of Greek language) through the interpreter about its past history and got an opportunity to see with their own eyes the city as well as all the relics and monuments of historical and archaeological importance. Their accounts of the growth of urban culture and art and architecture at Taxila are of exceptional importance. While giving a vivid description of Taxila as a city they observe that it was laid out on a symmetrical plan. "It was about the size of Nineveh, walled like a Greek city, and was the residence of a sovereign who ruled over what of old was the kingdom of Porus."²⁴ "They found the city divided by narrow streets, well-arranged, and reminding them of Athens. From the streets, the houses seemed of only one storey, but they all had an underground floor."²⁵ "There were underground rooms equal in length to the chambers above... The archaeological finds have revealed that access to inner chambers was from the upper chamber. The reverse process misled the traveller who could not speculate whether it was a single storied or a double storied building till he (Apollonius) actually went inside to find out the real thing."²⁶ The travellers also saw the king's palace, which according to them, was not distinguished by any superior splendour or extraordinary magnificence from the residences of the citizens of the better class. There were no sentinels or bodyguards, but few attendants or servants. The same simplicity was observable in the courts, halls, waiting and inner rooms; and it pleased Apollonius more than all the pomp of Babylon.²⁷ According to Philostratus, "It was no less magnificent an architecture and the main chamber and the porticos and the whole of the vestibule was very chaste in style."²⁸ The city visited by the travellers in CE 43 can undoubtedly be identified with Sirkap and its king called "Phraotes"

with the Parthian.²⁹

The credibility of the information supplied by the travellers regarding Taxila city can be tested by archaeological discoveries at the site. Sir John Marshall, who carried on excavations at the site for over a period of twenty years at regular intervals between 1912 and 1937, has conclusively proved that the city visited by Apollonius of Tyana in "AD 40 or thereabouts" was no other than the city of Sirkap which belonged at that time to the Parthian ruler. His findings at this particular site include the structural remains like the royal palace looking like a glorified private house but with more spacious courts and rooms, blocks of the private dwelling-houses of the citizens, large houses belonging to the rich, single-storey structures of one or two rooms, narrow side-streets, small shrines and many other monuments and antiquities.³⁰ The palace complex was modelled on the same lines as its Assyrian counterpart, had several entrances and outer fortifications. This can also be more or less corroborated by the evidence produced by R. E. Mortimer Wheeler on the basis of his findings in the course of excavations carried out at the same site in 1944-45. The remains of stone city wall were also discovered.³¹

There is striking similarity between the observations of the travellers and findings of the archaeologists.

The travellers inform us that just outside the walls of the city was a beautiful temple of shell marble with a shrine and many columns. Round the shrine were hung pictures on copper tablets representing the feats of Alexander and Porus. The various figures including those of elephants, horses, soldiers, and armours were portrayed or carved in a mosaic of orichalcum, silver, gold, and oxydised copper, but the weapons, including the spears, javelins and swords, in iron. The metals were so ingeniously worked into one another that the pictures they formed were comparable to the productions of the most famous Greek artists from the points of view of drawing, vivacity of expression and truthfulness of perspective. We are further told that it was not till after the death of Alexander (c. 323 BCE) that Porus placed them (all the abovementioned pieces of art) in the temple including one which represented "Alexander as a conqueror and himself as conquered and wounded and receiving from Alexander the kingdom of India."³² This artistic representation constitutes the monumental evidence of Alexander's victory over Porus, the elder of Punjab, and the kingdom which the latter got back from the former (after tendering his submission) in recognition of the valour he displayed and the talent and ability he proved during the war.

Philostratus explicitly mentions that "They saw a temple in front of the wall about 100 ft in length and built of steel like stone."³³ The temple lay north to the wall and it was not inside the city proper. Some scholars have mistaken this temple for Jandial temple exhumed in the excavations at Sirkap.³⁴

The former was obviously built in the time of Porus and the latter in the Scythio-Parthian period.

The travellers saw the famous "Temple of the Sun" inside the city and in it statues of Alexander and Porus, one of gold and the other of bronze, of exquisite beauty which excited their admiration. Its walls were of red marble, but glittering with gold and the image of the god was of pearls.³⁵ The art of painting was also known to the people of Taxila as mentioned by them.

The travellers' description of Taxila city as a whole shows the perfection the people had attained in all the branches of art—architecture, sculpture, iconography and painting—in the past. The deities and objects contrived reveal the ingenuity of the artists. "They were so garbed in Greek costumes that it was difficult for a visitor to discriminate whether it was a Greek object or an Indian one. The fact, that they were found in Indian temples, was the only clue for discrimination. This shows the highest achievements of the Indians in the field of art."³⁶ The antiquity of all the specimens of art preserved inside the temple at Taxila as witnessed by them goes back to the last quarter of the fourth century BCE. All of them remained in excellent state of preservation till the time of their visit. Taxila was no doubt a large, well-planned, magnificent and fortified city. Strabo and Arrian have described it as "the greatest of all the Indian cities between the river Indus and the Hydaspes (Jhelum)" but without giving any details thereof. In fact, among all the classical writers Philostratus is the only one who has provided a picturesque description of the city with all accuracy and precision based on the eye-witness accounts of Apollonius and his fellow-traveller and friend, Damis, which can also be confirmed by archaeological evidence.

There are also some fragmentary but very rare types of evidence of Alexander's invasion (c. 326-325 BCE) in the accounts of the travellers. After leaving Taxila they set out on the journey to the Hyphasis or the river Beas and after two days reached the plain where Porus had been defeated by Alexander. There they saw the place adorned with a triumphal arch and a statue of the great conqueror in a four-horse chariot, as he appeared in the battle of Issus. A little farther on they came upon two other arches on one of which was Alexander and on the other Porus - the one saluting, and the other in an attitude of submission. As they approached the Hyphasis, they saw the altars Alexander had built there and also a bronze pillar with the inscription: "Here Alexander halted."³⁷ Philostratus conjectures that this pillar was raised by the Indians in joy at the return homeward of Alexander. It is a proven fact that he did not cross the Hyphasis to occupy the neighbouring lands. We learn that the land of the Brāhmanas between the Hyphasis and the Ganges was never invaded by Alexander not out of fear but because of being dissuaded by the appearance of the sacrificial victims.

About the Scythian invasion we have been supplied with only this much information by the travellers that "the Indian people drove back the Scythians who invaded their territories."³⁸ However, we cannot pass over it in silence. It is also said that many cities were built in the Gangetic region by the people of India the details of which are wanting. There is also a passing reference to the city of Patala in the lower Indus Valley which in the fourth century BCE was famous for its oligarchical constitution. We are told by Apollonius that "He saw too the mouth of the Indus, and Patala, a city built on an island formed by the Indus where Alexander collected his fleet."³⁹

There is no difference of opinion among modern scholars about the historical authenticity of the diary of Apollonius of Tyana but about the value of the journal or memoirs of his learned friend Damis which also formed the basis of the work of Philostratus their views are contradictory.⁴⁰ According to A. Cunningham, Philostratus professes to have utilised Damis' narrative of the journey. "His account is manifestly exaggerated in many particulars regarding the acts and sayings of the Philosopher, but the descriptions of places seem to be generally moderate and truthful. If they were not found in the narrative of Damis, they must have been taken from the journals of some of Alexander's followers; and in either case they are valuable, as they supply many little points of information that are wanting in the regular histories."⁴¹ Professor Brigg, on the other hand, doubts the very existence of the memoirs of Damis. But others admit its existence and hold that it also abounds in some valuable information about India. It is true that there are some errors and discrepancies in his account of the subject but it cannot be dismissed as entirely fanciful. Actually, the facts and fictions have been jumbled up in it. From the style of his presentation one could get an impression that he is a story-teller. While forming an estimate of Damis as a traveller, McCrindle observes: "His description of the country between the Hyphasis and the Ganges is utterly at variance with all known facts regarding it. As Alexander had not carried his arms into that part of India it had remained quite unknown, and hence for his account of it Damis had to depend entirely on the resources of his own imagination. For the geography, however, of the country between the Indus and the Hyphasis he was not without guidance, for it had been traversed by Alexander and described by his historians... Damis, in fact, tells nothing that is true about India except what had been told by writers before him..."⁴² Prieulx (reviewer of the work of Philostratus) is of the view that Damis never accompanied Apollonius in his Indian journey. He rather fabricated the journal Philostratus speaks of, for it contains some facts, from books written on India which he collected at Alexandria, the great mart for Indian commodities and resort for Indian merchants.⁴³ His view is no longer tenable. The doubts of both McCrindle and Prieulx about the visit of Apollonius to India can be set at rest on the basis of what he himself says about this visit: "... the very journey I have undertaken - and I am the first of my countrymen who have

undertaken it," as recorded in his biography by Philostratus. It is well proven fact that he along with his Assyrian friend visited north-western India during the reign of the Parthian king, Bardanes (CE 42-45), and kept record of it. He was a great traveller and many of his descriptions embody the results of his personal observation during the travels. There is no valid reason to doubt the visit of either Apollonius or Damis. Their narratives of journey also do not leave room for any doubt about their visit to India. Some of their statements regarding India are consistent with each other.

As a matter of fact, the works of both the travellers have relative value. Their accounts of life and culture of the people of north-west India and that of Alexander's invasion go to supplement the classical accounts of the subject. The early history of north-west India can be reconstructed to a certain extent on the combined testimony of both the travellers.

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2. Berwick, *op.cit.*, p. 16f; Conybeare, *op.cit.*, II, XXVI-XXVII; III, VI-VIII; Osmond De Beauvoir Priaulx, *The Indian Travels of Apollonius of Tyana* (Paris, 1873) cf. *The Classical Accounts of India* (hereinafter *CAI*), compiled by R. C. Majumdar (Calcutta, 1960, reprinted 1981), pp. 392, 396-9, 405-7, 411.
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4. Conybeare, *op.cit.*; *CAI*, pp. 399, 405-7; J. W. McCrindle, *Ancient India as Described in Classical Literature* (hereinafter *AICL*) (Westminster, 1901, reprinted Delhi, 1984), p. 193.
5. Conybeare, *op.cit.*, II, XXVI; *CAI*, p. 391.
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7. *CAI*, pp. 395-6; *AICL*, p. 193.
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9. Conybeare, *op.cit.*, *CAI*, pp. 394-5; *AICL*, p. 193.
10. Conybeare, *op.cit.*, II, XVI-XVIII; *CAI*, p. 387.
11. Conybeare, *op.cit.*, II, XVIII-XX; *CAI*, p. 387.
12. Conybeare, *op.cit.*, II, XVI-XVII; *Ibid.*, p. 385.
13. *CAI*, p. 385; *AICL*, p. 192.
14. *CAI*, pp. 391, 393.
15. H. L. Jones, *The Geography of Strabo*, VII (London, 1949), BK. XV, p. 47.

16. *AICL*, p. 193; See also *CAI*, p. 389.
17. *CAI*, p. 387.
18. See *CAI*, p. 411.
19. *Ibid.*
20. *Ibid.*, p. 387.
21. *Ibid.*, p. 391.
22. *CAI*, pp. 391, 406.
23. At that time no foreign traveller was allowed to enter Taxila without a permit and to stay there for more than three days as per the law of the land.
24. Conybeare, *op.cit.*, II, XX, XXV; *CAI*, pp. 387-8; *AICL*, p. 192; see also *The New Encyclopaedia Britannica* (hereinafter *EB*), new series, XVII, reprinted. (Chicago 1980), p. 1083.
25. *CAI*, p. 388.
26. B. N. Puri, *India as Described by Early Greek Writers* (Varanasi, 1971), pp. 148-9.
27. *CAI*, pp. 388-9; *AICL*, pp. 192-3.
28. Cf. Conybeare, *op.cit.*, II, XX.
29. The three important sites of urban settlements in Taxila have been archaeologically located at Bhir Mound, Sirkap and Sirsukh which are often described as three different cities. But, in fact, they formed parts of Taxila city. They successively saw their rise and fall at three different periods of history. The first remained under the occupation of the Persians in the fifth century BCE and the Indo-Greeks from the third century BCE to the beginning of the second century BCE; the second was under the rule of the Indo-Greeks from the early second century BCE to the early first century BCE, the Scythians or Śakas in the first century BCE and the Parthians in the first half of the first century CE; and the third was occupied by the Kuṣāṇas in the latter half of the first century CE and remained in their possession till the early third century CE. The city remained in existence until it was destroyed by the Hūṇas in the fifth century CE.

The extensive ruins of Taxila city are lying scattered within a radius of about 3 miles from north to south and 2 miles from east to west in the vicinity of Shahdheri at a distance of about one mile north-east of Kāla-kā-Sarai and about 22 miles north-west of Rawalpindi in Punjab.
30. *Taxila*, I (Cambridge, 1951), pp. 140-1.
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38. *CAI*, p. 400.
39. *Ibid.*, p. 408; See also *AICL*, p. 195.
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Candella Historiography

S. K. Sullerey

The Candellas were the most important ruling dynasty of early medieval India. The contribution of the Candellas is very significant both in the field of political history and also in the field of art and architecture. The study of Candella historiography provides basis to study the trends of Candella history and art. I have made an attempt to bring out in detail the review of major works published from 19th century to 21st century.

The Candellas decorated their kingdom with lakes, tanks, forts, palaces and temples, which were mainly centred in their strongholds of Mahoba (ancient Mahotsava-nagara), Kālañjara and Ajaigarh (Jayapura-durga)¹ and to a lesser extent, in their towns of Dudahi, Chandpur, Madanpur and Deogarh. But none of these places could be compared in magnificence with Khajuraho, which was adorned by the Candellas with tanks and temples. According to local tradition, the place had originally eightyfive temples,² but only twentyfive are now left in different stages of preservation. There are more than fifty mounds at Khajuraho, of which eighteen have been identified by Archaeological Survey of India for future excavation. Recently, a beautifully carved plinth of a large early eleventh century temple has been unearthed in the southern area of the site.³ Thus, the contribution of the Candellas in the field of art and architecture is perhaps much more significant than their political achievements.

The Candella historiography provides basis to study the trends in the Candella art. The study of Candella history began during the nineteenth century CE. Lieutenant William Price presented a paper in 1813, at Asiatic Society of Bengal on the Sanskrit inscription found at Mau near Khajuraho⁴ which for the first time drew the attention of historians to the Candella dynasty. Captain W. R. Pogson published his book 'History of the Boondelas' in the year 1828,⁵ in which he mentioned some important places related to Candella history and art with maps and description of Kālañjara and Ajaigarh. Captain T. S. Burt⁶ visited Khajuraho in 1838 and published a colourful account of Khajuraho temples in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, which attracted the attention of scholars. General F. C. Maisy⁷ had published his paper in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (1848) entitled "Description of the Antiquities at Kalinjar" in which he has very extensively surveyed the Candella fort at Kālañjara, along with line drawings, maps and inscriptions. Along with Kālañjara fort he had given a brief account of another Candella fort at Ajaigarh. He made the earliest line drawing of Khajuraho temples in

1852.⁸

Actually there was nothing known authentically of the Candella dynasty until the publication of Cunningham's *Archaeological Survey Reports* Vols. II, VII, X and XXI between the years 1864 and 1885.⁹ The importance of the Reports and contribution of Cunningham can be measured by the fact that even today no study of the Candellas is possible without the help of his Reports and many of the conclusions drawn by Cunningham, still stand to date. On the basis of these Reports and other inscriptions, Smith¹⁰ published a scholarly paper on the Candellas in the year 1908, in Vol. XXXVII of *The Indian Antiquary*.

The history of the Candellas and other dynasties was still very obscure and little of the period was known until the publication of H. C. Ray's¹¹ two volumes in 1931 and 1936. These volumes of *Dynastic History of Northern India* of Ray not only contributed to the knowledge of the history of dynasties, but also emphasized the vast scope of the subject and need for future researches. Gore Lal Tiwari¹² published his book entitled *Bundelkhanda Kā Itihāsa* in Hindi in 1933. His book gives a brief history of Bundelkhand region. Keshav Chandra Mishra's¹³ book entitled *Candella Aur Unkā Rājatva Kāla* was published in Hindi in 1954. He studied the Candella history, culture and art on the basis of literary and archaeological sources. The first research work on the Candella history was published by N. S. Bose¹⁴ entitled *History of the Chandellas* in 1956. He made an attempt to trace the full history of Candellas on the basis of inscriptions and contemporary literary works. Beside the political history, he has discussed the administration, social, economic, cultural and religious life along with art and architecture during the time of Candellas in brief.

On the art of the Candellas, Stella Kramrisch¹⁵ wrote an article, "Candella Sculpture: Khajuraho", as early as 1933. Her monumental work, *The Hindu Temple*, published in 1946, highlighted the Khajuraho temples and sculptures. O. C. Gangoly¹⁶ published the first monograph *The Art of Chandellas* in 1957 on the basis of Khajuraho sculptures. This monograph gives a good description of Khajuraho sculptures but ignores other centres of Candella art. In this monograph the aesthetic value of Candella sculpture was brought out in a commendable manner. In the same year another work published on the Candella art was the special issue of art Journal *Marg* on Khajuraho edited by Mulk Raj Anand. This issue highlighted the sculptural wealth of Khajuraho.

In 1958, S. K. Mitra¹⁷ published his doctoral thesis entitled "*Early Rulers of Khajuraho*" in which he discussed the political history of the Candellas and also highlighted the socio-economic and religious condition on the basis of epigraphic sources along with art and architecture of the Candellas. The second edition of his book was published in 1977. In this edition he added two appendices, viz. 'Candelia land grants and feudalism' and 'A Note on

aspect of Candella architecture.' The former contradicts R. S. Sharma's theory on feudalism and its application to Candella land grants. The second appendix contains an important suggestion that all the Khajuraho temples, Hindu and Jaina, must have been built by the same community of builders, belonging to a single school of architecture, i. e. Nāgara style of central India. As craftsmen, they themselves might have no sectarian bias and responded enthusiastically to the requirements of their patrons irrespective of their religious affiliations.¹⁸

Krishna Deva¹⁹ published in 1959 an article in *Ancient India*, No. 15, entitled 'The temples of Khajuraho in Central India.' In this paper, he had studied for the first time the Khajuraho temple architecture and sculptural art in depth on the basis of morphological study of temples and texts. He has given classification of Khajuraho sculptures which is acceptable to art historians. E. Zannas and J. Auboyer²⁰ in 1960 published their work *Khajuraho*. In the same year Kanwarlal²¹ published his *Immortal Khajuraho*. This book is however written for tourists. Urmila Agrawala²² published her doctoral dissertation *Khajuraho Sculptures and their Significance* in 1964. She made an attempt to study the Khajuraho sculptures on the basis of iconography. A discussion of the social significance of the sculptures for the study of contemporary social life as revealed in the Khajuraho sculptures was the highlight of this work. H. D. Sankalia²³ published his paper "Socio-economic background of Khajuraho" in the *Journal of Indian History* in 1966. He has discussed briefly factors which made it possible for these magnificent temples to come into existence, and which possibly also account for the prominently erotic elements in their sculptures. According to him, the reason for building the temples at Khajuraho seems to be that nearabout Panna, they found not only excellent sandstone but also diamonds.²⁴ Vidya Prakash²⁵ published his book *Khajuraho, A Study in the Cultural Conditions of Chandella Society*, in 1967. He discusses the various aspects of social and cultural life of Khajuraho as revealed from the sculptures. In the same year, another book of Ramasraya Awasthi²⁶ in Hindi *Khajurāho Ki Deva Pratimāyain* came into print. This is an excellent study of the iconography of some important deities of Khajuraho temples in depth and with a good textual interpretation of images. In the meantime Mulk Raj Anand's²⁷ monograph *Khajuraho* dawned. His attempt was to highlight the aesthetic value of the Khajuraho sculptures. Klaus Brühn²⁸ published *Deogarh*, an important site of Candella art in which the Jaina icons at Deogarh were discussed in detail. Bhagchandra Jain²⁹ published his dissertation "*Deogarh Ki Jaina Kalā*" in which he made an attempt to study the Jaina sculptures found at Deogarh having iconographic significance. A. P. Pandey's³⁰ research work *Candella Kālīna Bundelkhaṇḍa Kā Itihāsa* (1968) in Hindi was a study narrative and its character pertaining to Candella art is merely a survey of Cunningham Reports.

In 1977, R. K. Dikshit's³¹ publication *The Chandellas of Jejakabhukti*

and *Their Times* provided an authentic account of the history of the Candellas, and is well documented. It is based on a critical appreciation of the available sources, literary as well as archaeological and personal exploration leading to discovery of new inscriptions that had not been noticed earlier. The author has utilized *Rūpaśatakam*³², an important work of Candella times, for the first time, a work that had not been noticed by other writers on the subject. The cultural part of his thesis has remained unpublished till today. K. L. Agrawal's³³ *Khajurāho* in Hindi was released in the same year. He made an attempt to study the monuments of Khajuraho in light of geo-political, socio-economic and religious background and also added the translation of some important inscriptions of Khajuraho in Hindi. Krishna Deva's³⁴ guide book, *Khajuraho* published by the A. S. I. in the year 1980 gives an authentic account of Khajuraho temples for general readers and also for scholars. S. D. Trivedi's³⁵ catalogue of sculptures in Jhansi Museum released in 1983 gives an account of Candella sculptures found in Jhansi region of Uttar Pradesh. His other publication was *Bundelkhaṇḍa Kā Purātattva*³⁶ in Hindi. In this he described the archaeological sites of Bundelkhand region and also incorporated some new material found in some sites of Bundelkhand. K. K. Chakravarti³⁷ released his monograph on 'Khajuraho' in 1985. He had propounded that the Khajuraho artist depicts the total rather than the partial life of the entire community or of any individual. Sculptures and temples were outer manifestation of his inner vision. The book contains good photographs and line drawings of Khajuraho temples and sculptures. Krishna Deva's³⁸ *Khajuraho* in 1987, and again an ASI publication *The temples of Khajuraho* in two volumes were remarkable editions.³⁹ Both these works of Krishna Deva contributed a very significant and authentic study of sculptural and architectural study of Candella art with particular reference to Khajuraho. He has given a scholarly and text-based study of Khajuraho architecture and art. M. N. P. Tiwari's⁴⁰, *Khajurāho Kā Jaina Purātattva* (1987), in Hindi, provides a critical account of Jaina sculptures of Khajuraho. The present author's⁴¹ publication *Ajaigarh Aur Kālañjara Kī Devapratimāyain* (1987) has for the first time studied the famous Candella forts of Ajaigarh and Kālañjara as art centres of the Candellas. The author brought out the significance of rock-cut Candella sculptures which were not studied by previous art-historians. The sculptures of Ajaigarh and Kālañjara are important from artistic and iconographic point of view. The present author's paper (1987-88) on the recently found Kundeshwar Copper-plate of Queen Satyabhāmā (wife of King Vidyādharma), dated VS 1060 (CE 1003)⁴², helped to show that the Candella Vidyādharma was on the throne in CE 1003. Further, the epigraphist Arvind K. Singh's reading of the date of King Dhāṅgadeva's inscription of the Viśvanātha temple of Khajuraho as VS 1056 (CE 999) confirmed the date earlier read by Cunningham. This reading has an important bearing on the Candella chronology and on the consecration date of the Viśvanātha temple.

M. N. P. Tiwari and Kamal Giri organised a site seminar at Khajuraho in 1987, in which they invited many scholars connected with the subject. It was a good attempt to study the monument at site and discuss the matters of controversy and exchange the views on various aspects related to the sculptural study of the site. The Proceeding of the Seminar published by the Department of Archaeology, Madhya Pradesh in 1994 was edited by K. K. Chakravarti, M. N. P. Tiwari and Kamal Giri.⁴³ It contains papers on different aspects of Khajuraho art, architecture and epigraphy. It is an important contribution of scholars in the field of Candella art. Devangana Desai⁴⁴ has genuinely contributed to the study of Candella art and iconography. She published many research papers on various aspects of Khajuraho art in Indian and international publications since 1984 and also brought out her book, *The Religious Imagery of Khajuraho* (1996), in which she discussed critically the importance of religious imagery of Khajuraho and placement of the images in temples. Her contributions are commendable in which an original attempt has been made to explain the meaning of erotic sculptures on textual basis. She propounded the view that erotic sculptures are not the only attraction of Khajuraho. She has also discussed the religious trends of Khajuraho prevalent during the Candella period and their impact on the art and architecture of Khajuraho. She wrote another book entitled "*Khajuraho*" in 2000. This book is very useful for scholars as well as for general visitors to Khajuraho. In this she has incorporated the latest information regarding the temples of Khajuraho.⁴⁵

For the study of Candella history and art I have made an attempt to incorporate the significant publications related to the historiography of the Candellas. This review of works gives us an idea about the direction of studies so far done in the subject concerned. We can conclude that mostly studies on Candella art are focussed around Khajuraho. Scholars are overwhelmed with the magnificence of Khajuraho so much that they overlooked other centres of Candella art.

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Vedic Gods In Buddhist Sculptures

Meena Talim

Many a time Vedic gods are portrayed in Buddhist sculptures. Such portrayals have caused curiosity amongst scholars. Three major gods like Brahmā, Indra and Sun (?) are often seen along with minor gods of the Brahmanic pantheon. In the present paper, we will study these three gods and find out their position in the Buddhist ethos.

At the outset I would like to bring to the notice of the readers that Buddha had never made any attempt to bifurcate his religion from existing contemporary traditions, whether religious or social. On the other hand, he had several times proclaimed, "I am teaching the norm which was followed by previous great sages." Thus he had paved a path of his doctrine through existing ground that led the people to learn his teachings; without hurting anyone's feelings or causing prejudices. This attitude made his religion very popular with no hatred or ill feelings generated in the minds of people for other contemporary religious systems. Unfortunately, such a loftier attitude is practically lost in modern days; hence many are amazed to see references of Vedic gods in Buddhism.

God Brahmā

Brahmā is a Vedic deity known as a creator of the universe. In the Buddhist texts he is often known as Brahmā Sahampati. He had been often helpful to Buddha and showed keen interest in his teachings and has been referred to in the Buddhist scriptures. Let us study some of such incidents that would reveal his love and loyalty to Buddha.

It is said that when queen Mahāmāyādevī was pregnant she had set out for her parent's house at Devadahanagar. On the way she saw Lumbini forest in which śāla trees were fully bloomed with flowers. She decided to halt for some time in the Lumbini park and stood under a śāla tree. She held a branch of a tree and that very moment she had labour pains. There she delivered a child, Bodhisattva-prince Siddhārtha. At that time God Brahmā received the child in a golden net cloth. Covering with the cloth he showed it to the queen and said, "Oh Devī, be happy, be relaxed, you have given birth to a mighty son"¹; when Bodhisattva took first seven steps on the ground, God Brahmā accompanied him, holding a canopy over his head. Thus, God Brahmā carefully looked after Buddha since his birth.

Again, when Buddha obtained omniscience, he enjoyed the spiritual bliss for a week and went to Ajapāla nigrodha park. There, while pondering over the achievements he felt, "I have achieved a norm which is very profound, hard to follow, difficult to understand, tranquil, excellent, logical and should be expounded to wise men only; therefore I shall seek *nibbāna*. If I preach the doctrine and others may not understand then it is disappointing and exerting myself."² God Brahmā read the thoughts going on in the mind of Buddha and he thought, "The world will be destroyed, if they do not hear teachings of Buddha." He immediately came down from heaven and requested Buddha to propound his doctrine to the world. Buddha refused him twice on the ground that people may find it difficult to understand him as they are engrossed in the pleasures of life. Third time God Brahmā appealed to him saying, "In the world there are people who are less impure and possessed of powerful intellect; similarly, there are some who have less intellect but are pure and such groups of people will be benefited by your teachings." Thus, in various ways he persuaded Buddha who ultimately agreed to preach his doctrine. This effort of God Brahmā made the world avail of the teachings of Buddha.

God Brahmā himself was very keen and interested in hearing the doctrine of Buddha. He often visited Buddha for this purpose. It is said that once he had visited Buddha who was then staying with Uruvela Kassapa, in Kevalakappa forest and heard his sermon early in the morning, illuminating entire forest.³

The Sarabhamiga Jātaka narrated episode of miracle held at Sāvatti. This was a very important and prestigious event in the life of Buddha. It was accepting a challenge given to him by six heretical teachers to perform a miracle. At that time God Brahmā personally attended and held canopy over the head of Buddha. He also witnessed two miracles held at Sāvatti and Sankissanagara.⁴

These four episodes are narrated in various Buddhist texts that reveal how at the time of crises God Brahmā helped Buddha and at times even advised him. These episodes are also portrayed in sculptures and paintings. The birth of Buddha is sculptured by Gandhāra artists. In a beautiful Gandhāra sculpture, we observe God Brahmā stading next to Mahāmāyādevī and spreading the golden net cloth to hold the child, coming out of her womb. Here we can see the grandeur of God Brahmā. His big royal crown is studded with gems and he is decked with all ornaments (Fig. 1).



Fig. 1: God Brahmā in the scene depicting the birth of Buddha

The Sāvatti miracle is carved out on the relief of railings (*vedikā*) at Bharhut. In this relief Brahmā is holding canopy over Bodhi-tree, a symbolic form of Buddha. Unfortunately, the canopy is covered with edge of a panel of the relief but a gesture of his palm makes it clear. Similarly, his elaborate and somewhat elongated crown denotes his majesty in this relief (Fig. 2).

God Indra of Bhājā Caves

We shall study God Indra of Bhājā Caves. Bhājā caves of the Theravāda sect are as early as second century BCE. The sculptures in these caves have characteristics of early Buddhist art having some Achaemenian features.

J. Burgess, after observing an archaic character of architecture and sculpture of Bhājā caves which distinctly indicated their early origin, had come to the conclusion, "The Bhājā caves were not, as had been previously suggested, an offshoot from those of Karle, but quite an earlier foundation."⁶ A cell that is located at the east of caitya hall and at the right end of verandah has two reliefs, on each side of the cell door. On these reliefs two Vedic deities have been carved out. On the viewer's right, the God Indra is shown mounted on elephant and on the left is Sūrya, the sun God mounted on his chariot. Let us study the episodes from the Buddhist texts that would reveal relation between Buddha and Indra.

God Indra is equally popular in the Buddhist texts as God Brahmā is. It is said that Indra's throne becomes hot whenever there is an end of life,

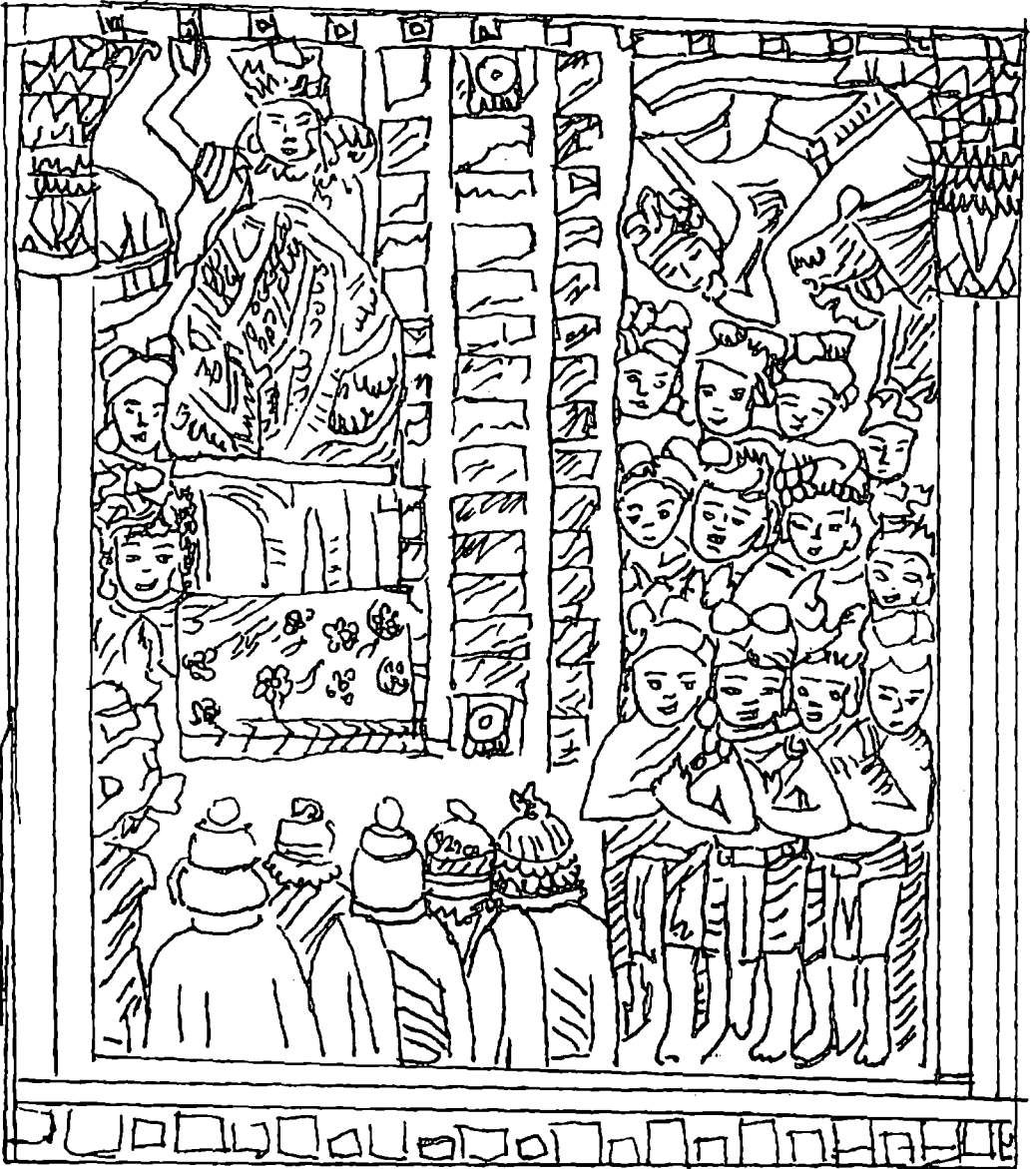


Fig. 2: God Brahmā in the scene of Śrāvasti Miracle

or end of merit or when a great soul with his virtues challenges his superiority.⁶ Indra at that time comes down on the earth to find out the great soul. Many Jātaka stories narrate that Indra had tried to test the pāramitās (perfections) that Bodhisattva was then performing and praised him, e. g. Akitti, Vessantara, Kaṇha and many Jātakas. In Sivi Jātaka, when Bodhisattva was performing Dāna-Pāramitā (perfection in charity) Indra came in disguised as a blind brahmin and begged of his eyes. King Sivi, the Bodhisattva, willingly donated both his eyes.⁷ Such Jātaka stories reveal that God Indra helped Bodhisattva to become perfect in all the ten pāramitās. Indra had always taken initiative to help and protect Buddha whenever necessary.

As Buddha became popular many rival heretics tried to disgrace him. Ciñcā, the Mānavikā was a female ascetic who accused Buddha falsely. Every evening she used to enter Jetavana forest where Buddha was staying and return in the morning, and if anyone would ask her she would reply, "I have spent the night with Gotama in perfume chamber." Thus she caused doubts in the minds of people. She started wrapping clothes and wooden disk around her stomach and pretended to be pregnant. She spread rumours amongst people that she had conceived a child by Gotama. Once she directly charged Buddha, when he was amongst a large crowd, preaching the doctrine. Buddha said, "Only you and I know the truth." She challenged him to prove his innocence. At this juncture when Buddha's character was at stake, God Indra came forward and caused the disk to fall down on her toes. People came to know the truth and Ciñcā was rebuked by them,⁸ later she was devoured by earth. Thus, Indra protected Buddha from false accusation.

Similarly, we know that Indra was informed by Buddha that he would perform miracle at Sāvatti. Indra, then gave instructions to his assistant Viśvakarmā to make a pavilion where twenty crores would be accommodated. Buddha then performed Yamaka-Pāṭihāriya (dual-miracle). He had also made an arrangement for second miracle (i. e. Lokavivaraṇa) where three stairs were led down from heaven to earth. He himself witnessed both miracles by accompanying Buddha and holding his alms-bowl and upper garment.⁹

These are some of the episodes found in the Buddhist texts which will reveal the friendly and cordial relations between Buddha and God Indra. Perhaps it may help those who are confused to find Vedic God Indra being carved out in the earliest caves at Bhājā. This, I hope would disclose that Indra was not an alien to Buddhists as unfortunately believed by some scholars. Let us see what scholars have to say about this relief.

Most of the scholars have agreed to this identification of deities; though few were not convinced. J. Burgess and James Fergusson suggest that these reliefs are *not* intended to represent God Indra or Sun God but they represent a prince in his chariot drawn by four horses.¹⁰ These two great scholars

categorically pointed out, "the subject portrayed in its sculpture is not connected to the religion to which it is dedicated."¹¹ E. H. Johnston also felt that, it is hardly possible to have Vedic gods find principal position in the Buddhist caves.¹² Moreshwar G. Dikshit states, "Irrespective of the fact that the sculptures have not been properly identified and their exact relation to the Buddhist pantheon is not known, one thing about them is certain, that they have a strange foreign look."¹³ A. K. Commaraswamy writes, "what the true meaning of these reliefs in a Buddhist vihāra may be is hard to determine, the vihāra must be Buddhist, but the sculptures are not Buddhist. This is rather, a simple kind of non-Buddhist art which the Buddhists had to adapt to their own edifying ends, and it reminds us that much must have been going on outside the limited range of Buddhist art properly so called."¹⁴ Ray Craven observes, "These reliefs featuring the older deities in heroic roles again underline early Buddhism's tolerance and its ability at integration - perhaps designed to avoid alienating the common people."¹⁵

Whatever may be the opinions of various scholars, this relief deserves close study from Buddhist iconographical point of view. In the relief, Indra, the king of Gods, is mounted on his elephant Airāvata, along with his attendant. He is wearing huge royal turban, big round earrings, a long garland of flowers hanging down to his leg and a thick broad bracelet on his left hand. In the right hand he is holding an arrow-like shaft. He is wearing dhoti type lower garment and is bare upto the waist. His attendant is wearing longsleeved upper garment and a decorative lower garment up to the thigh. He is holding banner and two spears in both his hands. His headdress is also very elongated and elaborate. The elephant on which both are sitting is covered with embroidered housing. This animal is also decked with thick band around head and a necklace. Its posture is so elegant that one feels that he is marching ahead. In his trunk, the elephant is holding a tree which has been uprooted and two men are falling from it. Incidentally, this tree is without railings (*vedikā*) which means it is not a Bodhi-tree, which often represents Buddha. I think it is very significant, perhaps to indicate that non-Buddhist teachings are being rooted out and men who are falling off the tree are non-believers in Buddha's teachings.

Below the falling figures and at the right front foot of the elephant, we notice a miniature sized Bo-tree, surrounded by railings. Above this tree three small figures, with elaborate hair-dresses which also resemble birds, can be observed, perhaps to indicate lesser deities of bird species which are very common in Jātaka stories. Below the Bo-tree is a scene of royal person sitting on a throne in a *bhadrāsana* position, attended by *caurī* bearer, musician and dancers. At the left side of this scene and below the front of the left leg of the elephant, there is another Bo-tree surrounded by railings and adorned with parasols and garlands of flowers. At the left side of this Bo-tree we

observe a forest scene in which animals such as mini elephant, bear, lion and tiger along with forest dwellers are seen; one of them is a female horse-headed figure. The entire atmosphere of the whole scene depicts a happy mood (Fig. 3).

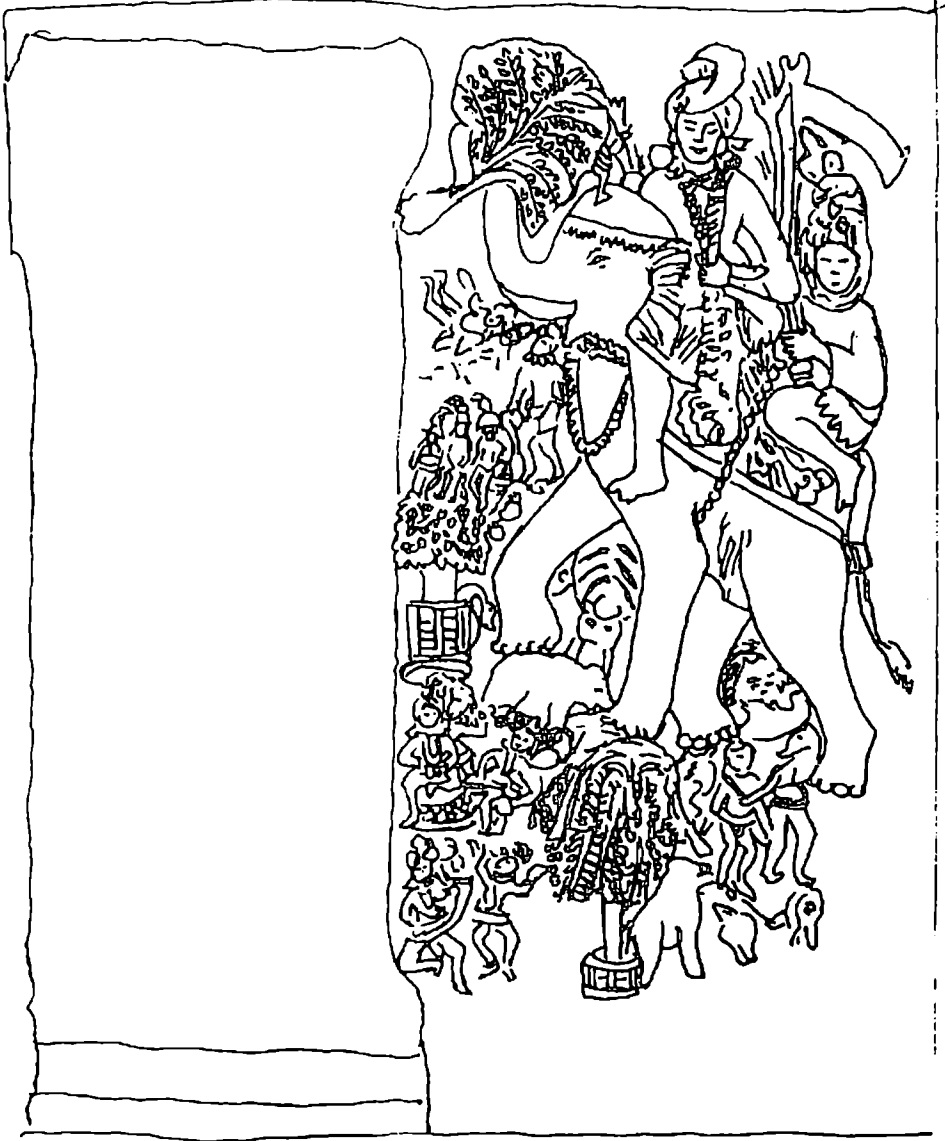


Fig. 3: God Indra

A. K. Coomaraswamy comments, "The elephant and its two riders are designed on a scale enormously greater than that of the landscape, and blotting out the greater part of it."¹⁶ However, I feel that there is a purpose

and that is to have both reliefs equal in size, i. e. in proportion with other part of sculpture (Sūrya); otherwise these two sculptures would have lost the balance from the artistic point of view. The composition of the sculptures would have looked awkward, on the sides of two door-ways of the cave. Besides, the landscape below the feet of an elephant was subordinate to the main theme of sculpture; it was meant only to cover open space below. Therefore the space was utilized to give Buddhist ethos indicating propagation of Buddhism.

Thus, the relief of Indra on Bhājā Cave seems to have been carved out with a motive to exhibit the greatness of Buddha and propagate his teachings. This has been represented by uprooting non-Buddhist faith (a symbolic tree) by God Indra.

Sūrya

It has been pointed out by H. D. Bhattacharya, "The tradition regarding the divinity of the Sun has come down from Vedic times."¹⁷ The earliest squatting figure of Sun belonged to Mathura in Kuṣāṇa period in second century CE. This statue is dressed as a Kuṣāṇa prince with heavy clothing and padded boots upto knees, which are definitely not Indian. An Indian concept of the Sun drawing seven-horsed chariot seems to be unknown to the sculptor. Bhattacharya further writes, "The popularity of the god receives a sudden accession of strength through infiltration of Persian beliefs and the installation of images soon after."¹⁸

At Bhājā we notice the Sun God on the left side of the cave door. A chariot of four horses is being drawn by royal male figure accompanied by two females. All the three are wearing elaborate headdresses denoting their royalty. The man assumed as Sun God is wearing heavy earrings covering ear-lobes, a broad choker type necklace and with his right hand he holds reins of the chariot, which is covered with shawl-like cloth. The two female figures are also heavily decked with big round earrings and necklaces. One of the two is having bead necklace and is holding fly-whisk in the hand which also has a broad bracelet on it. The other female figure is similar but she is wearing bangles on her hand. The chariot is flanked by two horsemen, who are also wearing heavy headdresses, necklaces and bracelets. Their horses are respectfully standing at distance and they too are decorated with flowerlike plumes. Underneath the wheels of the chariot and hooves of horses four female demons, hideous looking monsters are crushed. One of the female demons is holding a short sword-like instrument in her right hand and showing her anger by opening her wide jaw with a range of protruding big teeth. One of the demons is almost fallen down and crushed under the hooves of horses and her leg is under wheel of the chariot. Another demon seems to be helplessly wailing loudly with her two open arms. The remaining, the

fourth one, is desparately holding one of the legs of a bull which is shown above her shoulders and her left hand seems to be in the beak of a bird. One can notice underneath the wheels a bull with two horns and little below it, a head of a bird, probably a crow. These two creatures are very significant, but unfortunately they have not been noticed by scholars. These two figures are comparatively small and clustered around demons. Actually speaking, these figures of bull and head of the crow are very important which will be explained in due course. Let us now study the observations of some scholars (Fig. 4).

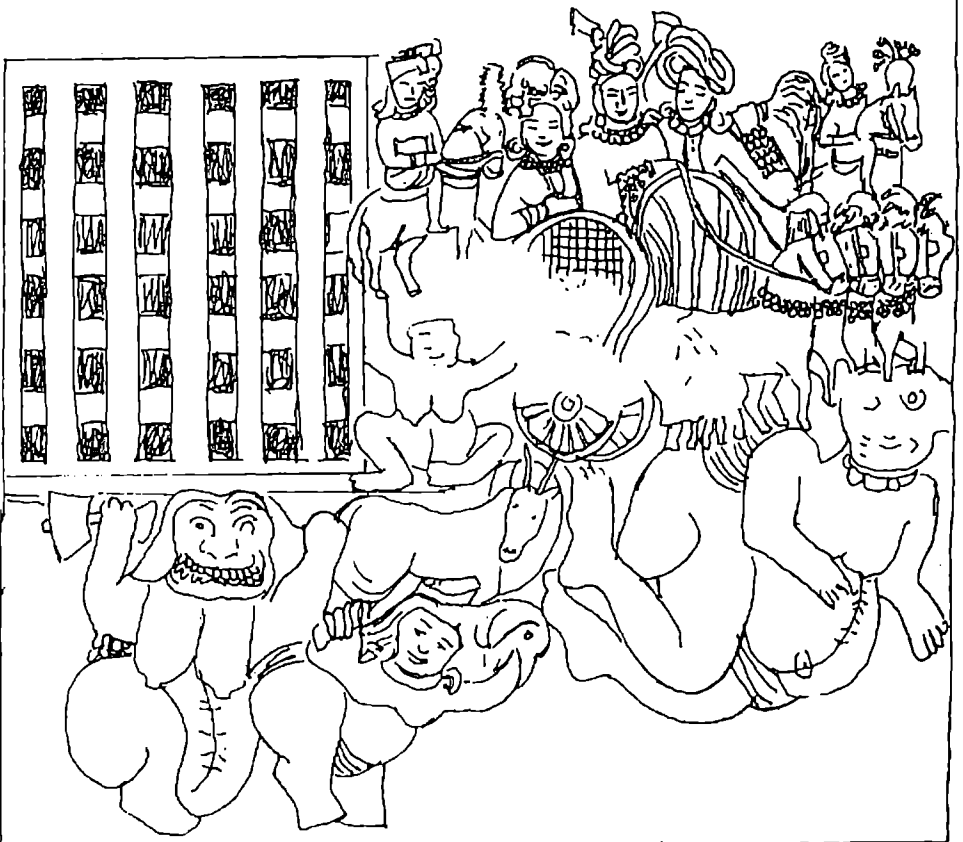


Fig. 4: God Sūrya (Mithra)

Burgess and Fergusson called these demons "Rakshasas."¹⁹ H. D. Bhattacharya remarked that two female figures in the chariot are Goddesses Uṣā and Pratyūṣā. The uncouth figures trampled upon by horses and wheels could be identified as demons of darkness.²⁰ Coomaraswamy writes, "I see no reason to question the original identification of this scene as representing Sūrya with his two wives driving through the sky and dispelling the powers

of darkness."²¹ Vidya Dehejia observes, "The panel to the left of the doorway and continuing onto the main wall, the chariot panel is a simpler one."²² M. Dikshit noticed, "One thing is certain that they have a strange foreign look"²³ Thus except Dikshit most of the scholars are inclined to accept it as a relief of Sun God.

Actually speaking, the Sun God was not popular amongst the people when this relief was carved out at Bhājā. Besides, there is no single Jātaka or Buddhist legend that shows connection between Bodhisattva or Buddha with Sūrya. In spite of these facts how could this deity be portrayed on the Buddhist cave? This riddle could be solved if we accept it as a gesture of Persian monks who could be responsible for this beautiful relief. The monks who migrated from Persia could have been formerly followers of the Mithra Cult and have influenced the engravings of the Bhājā Cave.

In the Mauryan period we notice Persian influence on Indian artefacts. Karl Khandalawala says, "The great stone edifice in ancient India was outcome of the inspiration derived from Achaemenian architectural glory and was the handwork of Achaemenid craftsmen, be they Persians, Perso-Greeks or other foreigners."²⁴ Besides, we must take into consideration a steady migration of the Persians to India. Before Zoroastrianism in sixth century BCE the earlier religion in Persia was that of cult of Mithra. "It was the Zoroastrian reforms which caused the separation of Arians in two different tribes and migration of these tribes which afterwards settled in India."²⁵ Similarly, after the fall of Alexander the Great, its repercussions resulted in an upheaval in Persia and the Persians migrated to India. Such influx of foreigners slowly merged in the Indian soil. As the conditions of Brahmanic religion were not conducive to these foreigners they willingly became Buddhists. They wholeheartedly accepted Buddhism and contributed to its art and architecture.

At Bhājā, almost all scholars have agreed that there is an influence of Persian ideology. As pointed out previously, followers of the Mithra cult might have migrated to India after persecution from Avesta. Let us study about Mithra, which may help us to solve the riddle of Bhājā. The Mithra cult no longer exists in the world; we will have to depend more on archaeological sources which are very slender and scattered. Therefore, I will depend much on scholars who have worked on him. Mithra was a 'Saviour God' and connected with the Sun. Coins of the Kuṣāṇa king Kaniṣka, known as Mithra-Helios coins, portray the bust with rays projecting from his head. "From this slender connection we may suggest that Mithra was for Kuṣāṇas not only 'Solar' deity but also saviour deity; and this would accord with what we know about Mithra from Iranian side."²⁶

Mithra was a Persian deity but his cult was widely spread in the West, including Rome. "He was described as a God of war riding in four-horsed

chariot against the demons and their worshippers and closely associated with Sun."²⁷ Mithra was held in high esteem among the ancient Persians and West Asia, dating back to fourteenth century BCE. "The temples of Mithra are found in some parts of Europe; cult of Mithraism was very popular even in ancient Rome and worship spread far and wide."²⁸ It seems that after the rise of Zoroastrianism the cult suffered a setback and Mithra is hardly mentioned in the Gathas and ignored by Zarathustra in his reforms. "It may have been possible to go further and to hold that the Prophet regarded him as a demon whose worship was to be banished from pure faith."²⁹

Mithra was by origin a god of heavenly light. According to 'Myth of Mithras' there is a close connection between Sun and Mithra.³⁰ Mithra is also later identified with the Sun himself.³¹ A special characteristic of Mithra is that he is always shown as a slayer of a bull and in every sculpture he is shown killing a bull. According to sources, "The death of a bull was the source of life, an act of renewal of creation; killing an animal is not the act of evil spirit but sacrifice performed by Mithra, a bull being chosen as a victim on account of his great generative power."³² Ray Wills writes, "Virtually every shrine of Mithra had a central relief of Mithra slaying bull."³³ Just as sacrifice of a bull is very conspicuous in ritual worship of Mithra, a crow is equally important and present in every relief of Mithra. A crow is almost always present, perched either on Mithra's mantle or on the edge of cave."³⁴

Another remarkable characteristic of Mithra is that he is a god of battles. "He was a god of war described riding in his four horsed golden chariot against demons and their worshippers and closely associated with Sun."³⁵ Mithra is said to be drawn across the sky by white horses. Around him are groups of lesser divinities and sometimes linked with goddess of future namely Ashi."³⁶ The coupling of Mithra with goddess Anāhitā is also common.

After studying the main characteristics of Mithra one will realise that all important emblems of Mithra can be observed in the relief of Bhājā that are being carved out: a) royal personality driving along with two females which can be called Goddesses Ashi and Anāhitā; b) a chariot of four horses; c) monstrous images trampled down by wheels of the chariot. Besides, one may notice that demons shown at Bhājā are different from the Indian types; d) a bull being crushed down below the wheel of the chariot to indicate Mithra as a bull slayer; e) a crow with open beak is an essential item for the Mithra image;³⁷ f) two horsemen accompanying charioteer, as Mithra is always flanked by two companions; g) Mithra's sanctuaries were often established in natural caves or grottoes.³⁸

Taking into account all such factors and unfavourable conditions for Mithra followers in Persia, it would not be wrong to presume that the followers of Mithra cult migrated to India and played an important role in carving out

this Bhājā relief according to their ideas. These Persian monks or artisans also knew an inseparable relation between cave and Mithra. Perhaps because of all these favourable characteristics found at Bhājā cave these artisans could not have resisted the temptation of carving out this relief of Mithra with all his characteristics which is mistaken as a relief of the Sun God of Vedic pantheon. An eminent scholar like Karl Khandalawala while writing on Bhājā reliefs remarks, "There were perhaps some skilled Yavana artisans amongst those of local origin."³⁹ Thus scholars suggest foreign hand in the relief of the Bhājā Cave.

Sculpture of the Sun God at Bodhagayā

The sculpture of the Sun God at Bodhagayā was observed and studied by General Alexander Cunningham and Rajendralala Mitra in 19th Century. Their descriptions will help us to get information about the Sun god in Buddhist monuments. Cunningham feels that the relief, "offers a representation of the Sun in his four-horsed chariot, attended by two females, who are shooting arrows to the right and left which symbolise the Sun's rays".⁴⁰ He further commented that there is evidence of Greek influence as the number of horses is four and not seven as Indians accept it from Rgvedic times. Cunningham assumes that "Indians might have seen the Greek representations of the Sun god, which was afterwards carried to Palibothra by either pure Greek or half Greek sculptors."⁴¹

Rajendralala Mitra, on the other hand, did not agree and wrote, "The premises from which these conclusions have been drawn, are, however, not correct, and the conclusions are consequently wrong."⁴² He further added that on carefully examining the photograph of the relief, it will be seen that the group has nothing to do with the Sun. The pose of the central figure is not like that of Greek Apollo but that of a plain turbaned Indian charioteer and the side figures are two Amazonian ladies... the drawing of nimbus is nothing more than the back framing of the chariot... the unnatural and awkward position of four horses, two at right side and two at left side, was necessary for the sake of art... and the whole structure of assumptions of Gen. Cunningham tumbles like a house of cards."⁴³

After reading the opinions of these two great scholars it would be useful to study the relief. The relief is a rectangular panel, which is situated at the middle of a pillar of the verandah of a monastery of Bodhagayā. One can observe two octagonal pillars with bellshaped capitals along with figures of sphynxes at the top. In between these two pillars the main theme of a chariot is carved out. The chariot is drawn by four horses, of which two horses are turning to right side and two to left side. These four horses look very healthy, vigorous and aggressive as they are almost standing on their backside hooves on the ground and frontside hooves are almost in the air.

This position of horses indicates a speedy movement of the chariot. The main figure in the chariot is of a man who looks majestic and very vigorously holding reins of the horses in the left hand and right hand is raised towards the chest, holding something which is not clear. The man seems to be a royal personage, as his big but proportionate turban is having roundish emblem on it. He is wearing big round earrings, touching almost his shoulders; a thick necklace that falls on his broad chest. He is accompanied by two females holding bows, arrows, at his left and right sides. They are wearing big dome-shaped headdresses, helmets, below which their hairline across the foreheads can be observed. They are holding in their left hands bows and right hands thick arrows and swords. They look confident and standing with weapons in a moving chariot. The two men below the chariot, one at right side and other at left side are trying to cover their heads with forearms, bending down on the earth, to protect themselves from marching chariot which is running through them. This reveals arrogance of the rider (Fig. 5).

The back of the chariot has two items, a so called nimbus and a canopy fixed on a disk at the top. The scholars like Cunningham feel that it is a nimbus behind a charioteer to indicate his divinity. This is squarish in shape with straight lines carved on it which are said to be rays coming out of the head of Sūrya, the charioteer. R. Mitra does not agree with this suggestion and remarks the rays of Sun are actually ribs of chariot's backcover. He writes "It is really nothing more than the back-framing of the chariot."⁴⁴ I agree with Mitra; the position of chariot is from front side hence the lines of ribs of framing of chariot are bound to be in slanting - straight lines, to give depth to the upper position of the chariot. Besides careful observation will reveal that the shape of this so called nimbus is not round but squarish with upper corners given a roundish shape. This therefore can not be nimbus around the head of charioteer. Above this we observe a round canopy designed to indicate a royal emblem of the charioteer.

Rajendralala Mitra remarks, "The central figure is not like that of the Greek Apollo but plain turbaned Indian charioteer"⁴⁵ I slightly differ with Mitra here; I feel that the charioteer is not plain Indian but a royal person. His attire is similar to those majestic personalities that are carved out on the *toranas* of Sanchi. After studying the details of the relief one is convinced that he is not the Sun God. Then who is he?

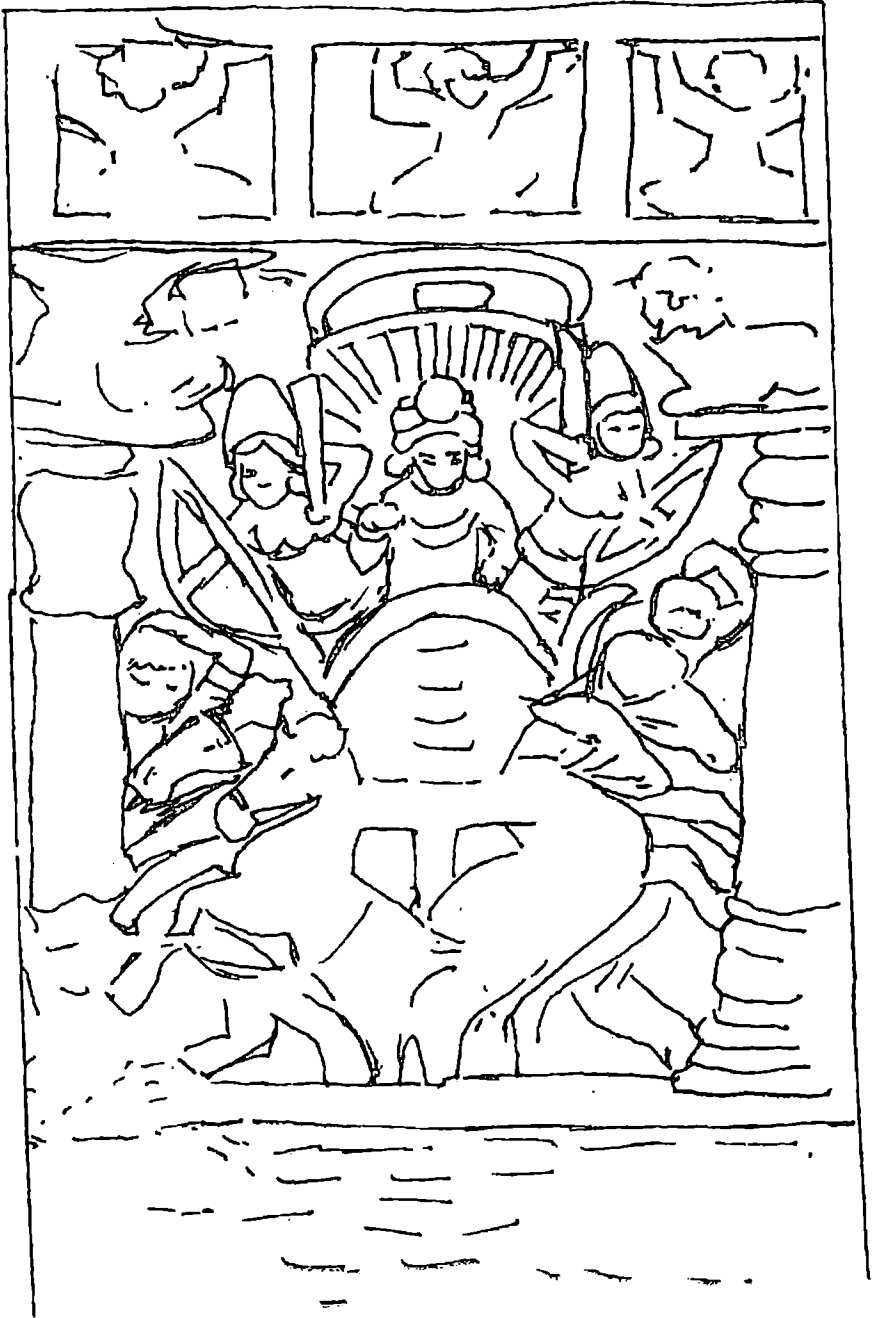


Fig. 5 : God Sūrya (King Ajātaśatru)

The charioteer has two stout companions who look like female warriors, as they are holding weapons in both their hands. They have strong dome-shaped headdresses (helmets) to cover their heads. Major Markham Kittoe and R. Mitra are inclined to accept them as "two Amazonian ladies,"⁴⁶ may be owing to their hefty physique. In sixth century BCE, it was a practice to have female guards to protect royal personalities. King Ajātaśatru was one of such rulers who trusted female guards more than male escorts : The *Diggh Nikāya* narrates that when King Ajātaśatru decided to visit Buddha along with Jīvaka, the physician thought, "It is better to have female guards, as they are less dangerous than men."⁴⁷ The King took along with him five hundred female guards who were in the garb of men, tying swords on the wasteline and holding staffs studded with gems in their hands.⁴⁸ May I suggest, that this charioteer could be King Ajātaśatru of Magadha? He is frequently mentioned in the Buddhist texts for his valour and arrogance. The relief gives an impression that charioteer is recklessly driving fast and his female attendants are helping him, by keeping the road clear and driving away men on the road to run helter skelter. This is in tune with the character of King Ajātaśatru as portrayed in the Buddhist texts. Secondly, these female attendants could be his female guards, dressed like warriors with big helmets on the heads and carrying weapons in both their hands. They seem to be making the road clear by frightening the people on the road by their weapons. They do not possess any delicate mannerism which wives of the Sun God namely Uṣā or Pratyūṣā could have. Besides, Ajātaśatru is often shown in Buddhist sculptures on the basis of episodes narrated in the texts, but here he has been sculpted as per his nature. Thirdly, on the back-hood of chariot on a small disk a royal canopy has been fixed which is often shown over the head of royal personality.

Now the question of four horses remains unsolved. We know that Achaemenian Mithra used to ride the chariot with four horses. But on this ground we can not call him Mithra as we know that other three necessary items are missing in the relief, namely a bull, a crow and female demons. At the same time we do not observe any similarity that would connect him to the Sun God.

General Cunningham thinks that the number (four) and position of the horses are similar to the chariot of Greece; therefore the figure in the chariot is that of Apollo.⁴⁹ R. Mitra, however did not approve of it on the ground that a) Apollo has no umbrella over his head, b) Grecian horses are not adorned with crest or plumes on the head which Indian horses have, and c) Apollo has no side figures. He feels that "the position of horses does not imply borrowing, but is a natural result of art." He further argued that "This unnatural and awkward position was necessary for the sake of art and could not be avoided."⁵⁰

After studying this problem I feel that the four-horsed chariot should not lead us to accept him as Apollo, a god of Greece, or as Mithra, a Persian god. The chariot driven by four horses seems to be common in Greece, Persia and India, in the 6th century BCE. In *Nidānakathā*, we come across a reference to Prince Siddhārtha when he decided to visit a park. He called his charioteer Channa to prepare a chariot. At that time Channa made ready a chariot drawn by four horses which were bluish in colour and were brought especially from Sindh for the royal family.⁵¹ It is therefore likely that King Ajātaśatru who was contemporary of Buddha possessed a chariot drawn by four horses. The position of horses, two on right side and two on left side, may have been carved purposely as Mitra had pointed out, for the sake of art. This position also reveals the valour, spirit and heroism of horses and the charioteer. Thus, the figure of Bodhagayā is not the Sun God of Vedic pantheon but could be King Ajātaśatru sculpted on the basis of characterization depicted in the Buddhist scriptures.

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Also *Jāt. Aṭṭh.* Vol. IV, V.R.I. pp. 235-236.
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Unfolding Sadāśiva

Tulsi Vatsal

Among the many wonderful and unusual images installed in the medieval temples of Khajuraho in Central India is that of a strange male deity with six visible heads and four legs, now in the Khajuraho museum, (Pl. XV) that bears an inscription on its pedestal identifying it as Sadāśiva.¹ A second, similar but smaller image occupies a niche in the north-east corner of the *mahāmandapa* of the Kandariya Mahādeva temple. Both figures are fully anthropomorphic. Both have four legs, and six visible heads arranged in two tiers of three heads each, surmounted by a *līṅga*. Only two hands (both right) survive in the museum figure; the one in the temple has only one surviving (right) hand. Of the four legs, two are crossed in the typical *padmāsana* posture. The other two are spread apart, and bent at the knees. On the pedestal of the museum figure there is three-headed image of a bearded Brahmā, as well as a small seated figure of a devotee. In the temple figure, apart from the Brahmā on the pedestal are the figures of Brahmā and Viṣṇu on the right and left of the *prabhāvali*. The mounts of Brahmā (swan), Viṣṇu (bearded human head denoting Garuḍa) and Śiva (bull) are shown beneath the legs in *padmāsana*.

Sadāśiva plays a vital role in Śaiva cosmogony. The various Śaiva schools categorised as Śaiva Siddhānta (such as the Tamil Śaivas and the North Indian Śaivas), while differing in certain respects, all accept the authority of the Āgamas, and share some fundamental philosophical concepts. Śaiva Siddhānta holds that nothing exists except the One Supreme Being, known as Paramaśiva. He is the Divine Essence, beyond all attributes and limitations. At the same time, paradoxically, the world in all its myriad shapes and forms, with all its joys and sorrows, also truly exists - it is a manifestation of the dynamic aspect, the Divine Energy (Śakti) of the Absolute. This manifestation is not a one-time act of creation, but a continuous unfolding of Paramaśiva through the operations of his Śakti, and is described in terms of the five Principle Categories (Śiva, Śakti, Sadāśiva, Īśvara or Maheśvara and Jñāna). Sadāśiva occupies a key position in this process. He is at once manifest and unmanifest (*vyakta-avyakta*), both with and without form (*sakala-niṣkala*) - the Divine Essence stirred by the creative impulse of Śakti, prior to the unfolding of the phenomenal world out of its own substance.

In an important article 'From Transcendancy to Materiality: Para Śiva, Sadāśiva and Maheśa in Indian Art', Doris Srinivasan discusses how this three-fold

sequence of transformation from the formless to the material finds expression in Indian art. Srinivasan argues that while the formless, unmanifest Absolute is represented by the *linga*, and the material form of the god through various anthropomorphic images of Maheśa, Sadāśiva, 'the subtle form' of the Absolute, who is both with and without form, is depicted as a partial anthropomorphic image.²

According to Srinivasan, the defining iconographical characteristic of Sadāśiva is not the number of heads or arms, the types of attributes carried by the figure, or the *āsanas*, but the 'partial manifestation' of the deity. Sadāśiva is generally represented in the form of a *mukhalinga* with one or more faces, though sometimes also as a partially exposed anthropomorphic figure (as in the case of the great Sadāśiva image in Elephanta) - but, in keeping with his essential nature, never in fully manifest anthropomorphic form.

Srinivasan provides a number of striking examples from different parts of India to substantiate her theory. They include examples from the Lañkeśvara cave in Ellura, the Śiva temple in Bodh Gaya and the Kusuma temple in Rajasthan, among others. At the same time, she argues that various instances of images which have hitherto been identified as Sadāśiva, and which are not in the form of partial manifestations, have either been erroneously identified, or that they represent special, nontypical āgamaic traditions.

For instance, referring to a tenth century image from Khajuraho, which shows a three (=4=5) five-faced deity seated in *sukhāsana*, and which has been identified by B. N. Sharma as Sadāśiva (*Sadāśiva*, New Delhi, 1976, Pl. IV), Srinivasan states: 'In this icon, what matters is the degree of divine manifestation and the identity of the two small godlings on either side of the nimbus. On the right side is a seated, multi-headed bearded Brahmā; on the left a much broken Viṣṇu. The main god thus ought to be Maheśa.'³ Srinivasan also discusses another figure, a twelfth century Sena sculpture from Rajibpur, Bengal, now in the Indian Museum, Kolkata, of a three (=4=5) headed, ten-armed figure seated in *padmāsana* that carries an inscription on the base, which refers to the installation of Sadāśiva. Regarding this figure she concludes that the 'Rajibpur Sadāśiva can be considered an East Indian representation whose antecedents could well stem from an āgamaic tradition known in the South; this tradition calls the fully manifested body 'Sadāśiva'... The Rajibpur Sadāśiva need not be considered an exception. Instead it may be an East Indian icon representing an alternate, or second, āgamaic tradition.'⁴

Srinivasan states that the inscribed Rajibpur figure is the *only* possible exception to her theory that she has come across.⁵ Curiously - as Devangana Desai remarks in *The Religious Imagery of Khajuraho* - Srinivasan makes no mention of the inscribed Sadāśiva from the Khajuraho site museum.⁶ This image, together with the one in the Kandariya Mahādeva temple, have been

noted by a number of scholars since the 1960s.⁷ Their iconography is unique and does not correspond to descriptions available in available texts which specify that Sadāśiva should have five heads and ten arms, though the *Rūpamaṇḍana* does not specify the exact number of heads. However, since the figure in the museum carries an inscription that explicitly identifies the figure as Sadāśiva, there can be no dispute about its identity.

Is the Khajuraho figure, like the Rajibpur Sadāśiva, then also a visual representation of the beliefs of some non-typical, perhaps unorthodox Śaivite sub-sect? Or can it be satisfactorily explained by reference to mainstream Śaiva Siddhānta beliefs?

One of the most puzzling iconographical aspects of the Khajuraho Sadāśiva is the figure's multiple legs. Desai suggests that the four legs are a visual pun: '*Catuṣpādas*, literally the four feet (of the image of Sadāśiva), refer to the four *pādas* (parts) of the Śaiva system,' viz. *Jñāna*, *Caryā*, *Kriyā* and *Yoga*.⁸ It is true that the Śaiva Āgamas do consist of these four sections. But this theoretical division does not seem to have been taken too seriously. In practice, only the *Suprabheda* and the *Kiraṇa* are arranged according to the four sections. In some Āgamas, two or more sections are condensed together, while in others, the material of one section is found in another.⁹

A closer look at the four limbs of the figure suggests another, rather different interpretation. The first pair is clearly crossed in *padmāsana*. The other two limbs are bent at the knees with the legs spread and the feet splayed. This is generally interpreted as the *pralambapāda* pose (with the figure seated on a seat, Western-style, with the legs pendant). However, in the *pralambapāda* pose, which is not very common in Hindu (or for that matter, Buddhist) art, the feet are shown pointing outwards, not sideways. An alternative interpretation is suggested by examining the figure of Mahākāla, the three-eyed, fierce-faced deity of Vajrayāna Buddhism who corresponds to the Hindu Śiva. Mahākāla is usually portrayed with knees bent and feet turned sideways, a peculiarity which seems to follow a description in the *Sādhanamālā* text, which specifies that 'Mahākāla should be represented as if rising from a corpse', which is why 'the god is almost always portrayed with his knees bent, *as if he is about to arise*.'¹⁰

The Sadāśiva image thus does not represent a single static figure with four limbs, the first pair in *padmāsana* and the second in *pralambapādāsana*; nor does it represent two figures¹¹, but rather the *same* figure in two different positions, the process being skilfully delineated by the single set of thighs. It is as if the figure seated in *padmāsana* uncrosses his limbs, rests them firmly on the ground and starts to rise.

It was Heinrich Zimmer who made the very perceptive observation that

in certain of the most remarkable and significant Hindu creations, individual monuments are not supposed to be understood as static symbols, signifying an event or a particular figure, but actually to exhibit the process that is taking place. He believed that this aesthetic is unique to India and cited a number of examples including the 6th century relief from Parel which he identifies as Sadāśiva,¹² and the c. 1800 CE miniature from Kangra. This latter painting shows Kālī atop the prone figures of Śiva-Śava, both of which represent Śiva as Absolute. Śiva as the Absolute in its dormant state is depicted as a corpse stretched on the ground. Lying above him, in contact with his own universal energy, is Śiva in a state of actualization - a crescent moon in his hair, one arm upraised and the legs bent at the knees, as if about to rise.¹³

Paramaśiva, the eternal Two-in-One, is both transcendent (as Śiva) and immanent (as Śakti). The individual soul, however, is so caught up in the three-fold bond (*pāśa*) of *Ānava* (ignorance), *Karma* (result of action) and *Māyā* (here taken to mean the obscuring, deceiving influence of the material world), that it cannot perceive the divine unity that underlies all things. And it is to help the individual to gradually destroy these fetters that Śiva, the Lord (*Patī*) reveals himself to his creation in a series of manifestations. The *Śivajñānasiddhiar*,¹⁴ a 13th century Tamil text explains:

*If the Supreme had not, by his arul (grace), adopted a form, and revealed to us the Vedas and the āgamas, no-one could have come to bliss...'*¹⁵

The text then lists the nine forms which Śiva specially uses for the purpose of self-revelation:

The One Lord appears through the following nine manifestations: Śiva, Śakti, Nāda, Bindu, Sadāśiva, Maheśvara, Rudra, Viṣṇu and Brahmā.

*Four of these are without form, and of those one evolves from another. Four are formed, and one, Sadāśiva, both has a form and is formless.'*¹⁶

These nine forms (which are an elaboration of the Five Principle Categories) correspond to the nine *tattvas* (cosmic elements) that are listed in another Tamil commentary, the *Mahābhāṣya*,¹⁷ which describes the doctrines of the various Śaivite sub-sects including that of the Ūrdhva-Śaivas, a sect that may have been prevalent in Khajuraho between the 10th and 12th centuries.¹⁸ Whether or not this was the case, it appears that their philosophy is similar in all important respects to orthodox Śaiva Siddhānta doctrine, the chief difference being that the Ūrdhva Śaivas describe the Supreme as Naṭarāja. The Supreme Principle is stated as being beyond the *Nava Tattvas*, enumerated as Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Rudra, Íśvara, Sadāśiva, Parabindu, Paranāda, Parāśakti and Paraśiva,¹⁹ which in the process of Involution, are ultimately reabsorbed into it.



Sadāśiva, Khajuraho Museum.

The nine forms of Śīva may be explicated as follows:

Śīva : Pure consciousness, pure intelligence (*jñāna*), dormant - the efficient cause of creation.

Śakti : Consciousness as self-consciousness. Śakti is dynamic, pure energy, and is the instrumental cause of creation.

The **Nāda** and **Bindu** forms, which are the natural forces of motion and space, evolve when the Supreme Spirit lets his Śakti engage with Śuddhamāyā, which is original matter, the eternal material principle. Nāda and Bindu are the ground for creation.

Sadāśīva : When *jñāna* and *kriyā* are equal and in a state of equilibrium, the ensuing form is known as Sadāśīva. Sadāśīva typifies a state of readiness and impulse towards creation (*unmukhīkaraṇa*).

Maheśvara : Personification of the fullness of the absolute, which comes into being when *kriyā* predominates.

Next when *kriyā* is in abeyance and *jñāna* prevails the *sakala* forms of **Brahmā**, **Viṣṇu** and **Rudra** emanate to play their roles as Creator, Preserver and Destroyer of the world under, as it were, the supervision of Śīva.

It is clear from the above description that the fifth form, that of Sadāśīva is a crucial link between the first and the last four. In this form, *kriyāśakti* and *jñānaśakti* are equal, in a state of equilibrium. It is this state that is depicted in the classic meditation pose of the Sadāśīva figure at the site museum in Khajuraho, reflecting in its perfect balance the intrinsic nature of Sadāśīva - that of the unity of manifest and unmanifest. But the equilibrium of Sadāśīva is not static; rather it is a state of readiness, containing within itself the seed of volition (*icchā*) from which the world process originates. Soon, under the influence of *kriyāśakti*, the process of creation is set in motion again. And it is this setting-into-action that is literally shown in the rising form of the image. What is suggested here is a continuous process, requiring (from our limited perspective) the passage of time, but which is essentially simultaneous: Sadāśīva, already predisposed to create, and then, activated by *kriyāśakti*, rising up to bring forth creation in its many forms.

The eight heads (six visible, and two assumed at the rear) in two tiers, represent the four *niṣkala* and the four *sakala* forms of Śīva as mentioned in the texts. The top four are the *niṣkala* forms; the lower four the *sakala* forms of Maheśvara, Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Rudra. The central head of the lower tier, which is common to both Maheśvara and Sadāśīva, symbolising both, the potential for creation (Sadāśīva) and its fulfilment (Maheśvara). All the heads are similar, because ultimately all are one and the same, part of the

undifferentiated Absolute, symbolised by the *linga* that surmounts them.

'If you ask about the form of the Supreme, whether He has a form or has no form or both, know that he who is called 'the One' has all three forms.' (1-38)

The Khajuraho sculpture is thus an interesting and radically different interpretation of the philosophical ideas underlying the concept of Sadāśiva. The figure suggests that the use of a single iconographical characteristic (such as 'partial manifestation') may be limiting while interpreting Sadāśiva images. Finally, the Khajuraho Sadāśiva reinforces Desai's argument that it was the 'righthanded' Śaiva Siddhānta sects and not the Vāmācārī sects of the Kāpālikas that were associated with the Śiva temples at Khajuraho.

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7. R. Avasthi, *ibid.*
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10. Pratapaditya Pal, *Tibetan Painting*, Time Books International, 1998, p. 19. Italics added.
11. Avasthi (*ibid.*), suggests that the central head in the lower tier belongs to the figure seated in *padmāsana* which represents Śiva Mantreśvara, while the other two heads, as well as the three on the top tier belong to the figure with 'the legs hanging down on the pedestal' (sic) and 'may be connected to the five mantras' which correspond to the five faces of Sadāśiva.
12. Heinrich Zimmer, *Myths and Symbols in Indian Art and Civilization*, Bollingen/Princeton Series VI, 1972, p. 136.
13. *Ibid.*, Plate 67.
14. The *Śivajñānasiddhī* is a Tamil Text written by Arulnandi in the 13th century. It consists of two parts - the first is a criticism of other Indian schools of thought including Buddhism and Jainism and the second is 'a full statement of Śaiva Siddhānta teaching.' Tamil Siddhānta is quite closely allied to Sanskrit Siddhānta.

According to tradition, Meykanda, Arulnandi's guru, was taught by someone from Kailāsa. J. N. Farquhar and H.D. Griswold Eds., *The Religious Quest of India*, OUP 1920 p. 257.

15. H. W. Schomerus, *Śaiva Siddhānta*, Translated by Mary Law, Motilal Banarsidass 2000, p. 63.
16. Schomerus, *ibid.*, p. 66.
17. The *Mahābhāṣya* is a 17th century Tamil text, written by Velliambalavana Tambiran, who spent time in Benaras studying Śaiva texts. He cites several Tamil and Sanskrit texts and quotes extensively from the Āgamas in his work. (R. Nagaswamy, "Naṭarāja and the Ūrdhva Śaivas", in *Kusumāñjali*, ed. M. S. Nagaraja Rao.)
18. This possibility is suggested by the inscription on the pedestal of the Sadāśiva image in the Museum which mentions the name of the *ācārya* 'Ūrdhva-Śiva' (Desai, *ibid* p. 60).
19. These are identical to the nine forms mentioned in *Śivajñānasiddhiar*, except that they are given in ascending order, and *nāda* and *bindu* are interposed. Since, however, both *bindu* and *nāda* are not really apart from the Absolute (Śiva himself is the very ground of the material that evolves into the gross world, and the operation of Śakti is constant), *bindu* and *nāda* are only logically successive but factually simultaneous.

Illustration

XV Sadāśiva, catuṣpāda (four-footed), 11th century, Khajuraho Museum.

Royal Legitimation Through Religion -

A Case Study of Vijayanagara

Anila Verghese

The domains of temporal and sacred power have been closely inter-related in Indian history. Rulers sought legitimation and sanction for their exercise of power through religious institutions and practices. According to the scholar Hermann Kulke, whereas in earlier periods rulers derived religious legitimation of their authority through the performance of grand royal sacrifices, in the medieval period there was a move towards legitimation through patronage of religious institutions. For example, in the early Middle Ages there was a decisive shift towards royal patronage of local or regional cults; while during the late Middle Ages royal ritual policy laid emphasis on patronage of places of pilgrimage and their cults and of sectarian leaders.¹ These, as well as other forms of seeking sanction through patronage of religious activity are observable in Vijayanagara history.

The Vijayanagara kingdom (1336-1646) was ruled by four dynasties: Saṅgama, Sāluva, Tuluva and Āraṇḍu. Whilst the first three ruled from the eponymous city of Vijayanagara, the last shifted the capital further south, first to Penugonda, then to Chandragiri and finally to Vellore. None of these dynasties had royal antecedents before seizing power. Harihara and Bukka I, the founders of the kingdom, sons of Saṅgama, a petty chieftain, took advantage of the disturbed political conditions in the Deccan during the first half of the fourteenth century to carve out a kingdom for their lineage. The founders of the other three dynasties were mere usurpers, who grabbed the throne at the expense of their former royal masters. Therefore, the need to find legitimation for their sovereignty, won by force, was of prime concern for the rulers of all these lines.

In the case of the Saṅgamas, the process of royal legitimation involved the patronage of local cults and the establishment of a homology between the deities they promoted and themselves, as well as the support of regional cult centres. Under their successors, while the former practices were not abandoned, new processes were set in motion: the incorporation of the great cult deities of their kingdom and even beyond into their capital city, and the royal patronage of places of pilgrimage and their cults including royal tours of pilgrimage. The rulers of all four dynasties also found it profitable to establish mutually beneficial links with sectarian leaders and to celebrate

royal-cum-religious festivals.

Fostering of Local Cults

The early Saṅgamas, after establishing their capital in the small village of Hampi, to which they gave the grandiose name of Vijayanagara, the City of Victory, on the banks of the river Tungabhadra, sought sanction for their authority and legitimization of their power by placing themselves under the protection of the principal local deity, namely, Virūpākṣa, a form of Śiva. The cult of this deity had become popular at the site by the twelfth century, in the process absorbing into itself the earliest cult at the site, namely, that of the local goddess Pāṃpā. The latter was soon reduced to the status of a mere consort of Virūpākṣa, who is also known as Pāṃpāpati. In pre-Vijayanagara times, Virūpākṣa had enjoyed only a purely local and limited following, but he now became the family god of the Saṅgamas, and the patron deity of their capital and kingdom. Unlike the Saṅgamas, who were Śaivas, the rulers of the later dynasties of the Vijayanagara state were Vaiṣṇava in affiliation; yet, though the personal and family deities of these monarchs were Vaiṣṇava divinities, they retained Virūpākṣa as the protective deity of their kingdom for as long as Hampi remained the capital and even for a couple of decades after the shift of the capital following the disastrous defeat in the battle of Tālikoṭa and sack of Vijayanagara city in 1565.

Harihara I (1336-1356) adopted 'Śrī-Virūpākṣa' as his sign-manual and this was continued by the subsequent Saṅgama rulers and even by the Sāluvas, Tuḷuvas and first two Āraṇḍu kings. Many of the royal inscriptions, mainly copper-plate ones, end with this sign-manual, which takes the place of the signature of the ruler in question. This practice maintained the myth that the king was ruling in the name of the god. The importance of Virūpākṣa was also highlighted by another practice, namely, that of recording royal grants in his presence. This custom, very prevalent under the Saṅgamas, was continued, though to a lesser extent, by the Sāluvas and Tuḷuvas.

Given the new-found status of Virūpākṣa as an imperial divinity, his temple at Hampi-Vijayanagara was expanded into a great temple complex (Plate XVI) and two other temples dedicated to him were set up in the capital city and a number of others elsewhere in the kingdom.²

A Vijayanagara period Sanskrit text, entitled *Virūpākṣa-Vasantotsava-Campū*, highlights the close association between the Vijayanagara king and this deity. The nine-day spring festival of Virūpākṣa described in this work is an elaborate and extensive affair, enacted under the patronage of the king of Vijayanagara. All the characteristic features of *Vasantotsava*, the spring-festival, are present here: themes of romance, passion and marriage. Yet, the *Vasantotsava* of this text is not primarily a festival of love. On the contrary, it is a pageant

in consonance with the grandeur of the Vijayanagara king, who plays a key role in the celebrations. The festival proceeds and succeeds because of his involvement and under his auspices. The festival is, therefore, a public display of imperial magnificence, linking the god Virūpākṣa and the king. Two processes are set in motion in it: the 'royalization' of the god and the 'deification' of the king. By closely associating the two, this festival-cum-royal display, serves both to legitimize and consolidate the power of the monarch and, at the same time, imbues and imparts to the deity a royal stature. A definite homology is drawn in the *Virūpākṣa-Vasantotsava-Campū* between god Virūpākṣa and the Vijayanagara kings.³

The second deity, of local significance, whom the Saṅgamas deliberately promoted, thereby securing added legitimacy for their rule, was that of the pan-Indian divinity, Rāma. Places in and around Hampi are and have been venerated as sacred spots, hallowed by Rāma's presence. Kiṣkindhā, the kingdom of the monkeys, is believed to be situated across the river to the north-west of Hampi. The events of the *Rāmāyaṇa* related to Hampi-Vijayanagara centre around the meeting of Rāma with Hanumān and Sugrīva, the killing of Vāli and the coronation of Sugrīva, the journey of Rāma as he proceeded southwards from here, along with the monkey-army, towards Laṅkā. Although there are a few pre-Vijayanagara epigraphical and literary references to Kiṣkindhā and the *vānaras* in this area, a careful survey of the site reveals no archaeological proof that the *Rāmāyaṇa* association with this site antedates the Vijayanagara state.

There is no indication of the worship of Rāma at this site prior to the fifteenth century. Indeed, it can be claimed that the *Rāmāyaṇa* association with this site was highlighted only during the Vijayanagara period. Probably, a 'sacred geography' was deliberately created identifying specific spots as associated with the activities of Rāma and the birth and exploits of his great devotee Hanumān. This process appears to be of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. For the first Saṅgama rulers made no reference to Rāma or to the *Rāmāyaṇa* associations of this site in their inscriptions and there are no pre-fifteenth century temples dedicated to Rāma in the city. It was in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries that the various pilgrimage spots linked with Rāma's exploits here were clearly identified and reliefs, shrines or temples were set up to denote their importance.

Within the capital, probably the earliest, and certainly the most important, Rāma temple is the early-fifteenth century Rāmacandra temple, a royal construction by Devarāya I (1404-1422) located in the heart of the 'royal centre'. While promoting this new cult at the capital by building this temple, the king did not wish to de-link himself from the earlier cult of Paṅpā Virūpākṣa. This is indicated by a Sanskrit verse mentioning the blessing of the goddess

Pāmpā (and thereby, indirectly, of her spouse) on Devarāya.⁴ The importance of the Rāmacandra temple is indicated not only by its strategic location, but also by the friezes of royal imagery and pageantry on the exterior wall. Inscriptions within also reveal the court patronage it enjoyed from the early fifteenth century to the mid-sixteenth century.

Besides the Rāmacandra temple, inscriptions or relief carvings indicate the presence of a number of other shrines and temples dedicated to this god. There are also three sculpted series of the entire *Rāmāyaṇa* at the site, of which two are in the Rāmacandra temple. Besides these, there are many other stray reliefs and carvings of Rāma and the *Rāmāyaṇa* themes.

The emphasis given to the Rāma cult and his association with the city is not surprising. For, in the Indian tradition, Rāma is considered to be the ideal king and a deliberate attempt seems to have been made at Vijayanagara to establish a homology between Rāma, the ideal universal monarch, and the earthly king reigning from the city of Victory.⁵

John Fritz and George Michell, who have done extensive work at Hampi-Vijayanagara, have pointed out the centrality of the Rāmacandra temple in the urban planning of the city. It is the key to understanding the partnership envisaged between the deity and the king. This temple is at the nucleus of the 'royal centre', from where the king's authority emanated outwards to the city and the kingdom; around it are arranged all the enclosures and architectural elements of this zone. The temple is the focus of the radial road system of the city and it also acts as a pivot for the concentric circumambulatory routes. The north-south axis of the temple, besides axially aligning the temple with important landmarks, also separates the 'royal centre' into the zones of royal performance and royal residence. Thus, the zone to the east of the axis is connected with the public roles of the king, while in the enclosures to the west of this axis were enacted the private roles of the royal household. Therefore, the god is at the centre of the king's public and private life. The king and the god were the focus of the 'royal centre' and the city; the monarch was the most powerful terrestrial partner of the god.⁶

It has also been suggested that "Rāmacandra was conceived as being 'within' the king, 'empowering' or 'generating' his activities".⁷ This aspect of the relationship between the god and the king is hinted at in the arrangement of the reliefs on the enclosure wall of the Rāmacandra temple. For, while on the inner face of the wall are the *Rāmāyaṇa* reliefs distributed in panels on five horizontal courses (Plate XVII, A), on the outer face of the same wall are five courses of reliefs displaying royal pageantry (Plate XVII, B).

Thus, the Saṅgama period witnessed the process of seeking sanction

for their rule by the kingly promotion of two local cults, firstly the Śaiva cult of Virūpākṣa and secondly the Vaiṣṇava one of Rāma.

Promoting of Regional Cult Centres

To gain acceptance beyond the local level, in various regions of their kingdom, the Saṅgamas and their successors followed the deliberate practice of promoting regional cults as well.

Through the local cults that were promoted to the level of imperial or state-level cults, there was the spatial connotation of the cults radiating from the capital outwards, confirming sanction and legitimacy to the sovereigns who promoted them. Side by side with this, the rulers promoted deities of regional importance through generous grants and benefactions, thereby gaining not only 'merit' for themselves but also the support of the regional peoples who worshipped these divinities, as well as of their sectarian leaders.

The Vijayanagara kingdom, founded in the mid-fourteenth century in the Kannada zone, soon spread to the Andhra and Tamil areas. The peoples of these zones and their deities had to be incorporated into the newly established and expanding kingdom. One example from each of these subsidiary zones will elucidate the point; the fact that, of the two, one was a Śaiva divinity and the other a Vaiṣṇava one indicates the political, and not solely devotional, nature of such acts, for royal benefactions cut across the personal religious affiliation of the Śaiva Saṅgamas and the Vaiṣṇava successor dynasties.

One of the most hallowed Śaivite temples within the Vijayanagara kingdom was that of Mallikārjuna of Shrishailam in the Andhra region. The importance of this temple within this zone was recognised by Vijayanagara rulers of different dynasties: substantial structural additions were made to this temple by Harihara II (1377-1404) in the late fourteenth century and Kṛṣṇadevarāya (1509-1529) in the early sixteenth century. Other royal benefactors included prince Rāmacandra (son of Devarāya I), Virūpākṣa II (1466-1485) and Vīra Narasimha (1505-1509).⁸

In the Tamil zone, the one temple that enjoyed extensive state patronage throughout the Vijayanagara period, from the early Saṅgama period onwards, was that of Raṅganātha of Shrirangam. The generosity of kings, princes and other court-connected persons to the Shrirangam temple is not surprising since it is considered to be the most sacred temple by the Śrī-Vaiṣṇava sect, whose members refer to it by the name of '*Koīl*', meaning 'the temple'. On account of its great antiquity and sanctity, from the time of the Vijayanagara conquest of the Tamil area onwards it enjoyed extensive benefactions from the Vijayanagara state. No other Vaiṣṇava temple can rival it in the number of donations it received from the Śaiva Saṅgama rulers. Indeed, the early

Saṅgamas gained recognition as sovereign protectors of the Hindu *dharma* by various noteworthy acts, among which was the re-consecration of the Shrīrangam temple, which had been sacked during the Muslim invasions of the early fourteenth century, soon after their conquest of the Tamil zone.⁹

Establishing Linkages with Sectarian Leaders

Besides gaining legitimacy for their political power by promoting local and regional deities and their temples, the Vijayanagara rulers, from the Saṅgama period onwards, established links with powerful sectarian leaders to strengthen their position further. The transactions between kings, temple deities, priests and sectarian leaders point to a relationship of mutual interdependence. There was a triangular relationship: the priests/sectarian leaders made offerings to and performed services to the gods; the gods preserved the king, his kingdom and his subjects; and the king protected and awarded material rewards to the temples, the priests or sectarian leaders. Thus, while the temple and sectarian leaders bestowed honours and blessings (and, indirectly, legitimacy) on the king, the ruler in turn conferred on them protection and riches.¹⁰

A careful study of epigraphical and literary sources reveals that the early Saṅgamas chose *gurus* from the Śaiva Kālāmukha sect as their royal preceptors. In this they were following the traditions of monarchs of Karnataka who, from the middle of the eleventh century onwards, had set the precedent of selecting their *rāja-gurus* from among the famous Kālāmukha centres of the Deccan. Thus, by choosing their preceptors from the same sect, the early Saṅgamas were establishing their claims to be the legitimate successors of these earlier lines. There are epigraphical and literary references to royal Kālāmukha *gurus* from CE 1347 to 1442.¹¹ After the mid-fifteenth century, the Kālāmukha preceptors are not heard of; this is not surprising since by then this sect seems to have been absorbed into the reformist Viraśaiva movement. Later Saṅgamas, such as Devarāya II (1426-1446), were linked with *gurus* of the latter sect.

From fairly early on, that is, from 1346 onwards, the Saṅgamas also established linkages with the pontiffs of the Shrīngeri monastery of the Advaita tradition of the great Śaṅkarācārya. Such a relationship of the Vijayanagara rulers with the Shrīngeri *gurus* was not at variance with their having Kālāmukhas as their family preceptors, for no exclusiveness existed at the time in the matter of paying respects to more than one venerable teacher. This tradition of venerating the Shrīngeri pontiffs was continued by the later dynasties as well.¹²

So close was the connection between the Shrīngeri monastery and the Vijayanagara state that one theory of the origin of the kingdom and the foundation of its capital associated Vidyāranya, a great sage of Shrīngeri, with a vital

and dramatic role in it. No doubt, this sage was influential in Vijayanagara history; however, a careful sifting of historical data reveals that he rose to prominence only during the reign of the third Vijayanagara ruler, namely, Harihara II.¹³ Indeed, the foundation myths that give Vidyāranya a pivotal place in the origin of the kingdom disclose a process of systematic 'rewriting of history'¹⁴ during the later Vijayanagara period, to the mutual benefit of the Shringeri monastery as well as the Vijayanagara monarchs.

Besides Śaiva and Advaita religious men, Vijayanagara monarchs established strong linkages with different Vaiṣṇava sectarian leaders, of both the Śrī-Vaiṣṇava and the Mādhva sects. For example, at Shrīrangam the members of the Uttamanāmbi family were wardens of the temple and many a royal benefaction to this temple was made through them during the Saṅgama period. This family continued to play an important role even under the second dynasty.

Sāluva Narasimha, who usurped the throne in 1485 and founded the second dynasty, had a Śrī-Vaiṣṇava *guru*, named Kaṇḍaḍai Rāmānuja Aiyāṅgar, as his preceptor. The latter proved to be the main representative of his royal disciple at Tirumalai-Tirupati and later at Shrīrangam.¹⁵

Under the Tuḷuvas, other Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas rose to prominence. Among these were those of the Tātācārya family. For example, Veṅkaṭa Tātācārya was revered by Kṛṣṇadevarāya. However, according to one inscription, his *guru* was Govindarāja,¹⁶ while other sources attribute the same honour to the Mādhva sage Vyāsarāya. The last belonged to a distinguished line of Mādhva *gurus*, many of whom were present in the capital; however, among Mādhva sages, only Vyāsarāya is named as a *rāja-guru*. Indeed, according to *Śrī-Vyāsayogīcaritam*, a hagiographic work on the life of this saint, he was the preceptor of Sāluva Narasimha, Vīra Narasimha (the first Tuḷuva monarch) and his successors Kṛṣṇadevarāya and Acyutarāya. Hence it is claimed that these rulers favoured the Mādhva sect.¹⁷ However, this hagiographical work seems to have exaggerated on this point, for no inscriptions refer to Vyāsarāya's influence over Sāluva Narasimha or Vīra Narasimha. No doubt, there is corroborating evidence to demonstrate his connection with Kṛṣṇadevarāya, but the latter also revered Śrī-Vaiṣṇava *gurus*. Indeed, this unsubstantiated claim of *Śrī-Vyāsayogīcaritam* that Vyāsarāya was the royal preceptor of four Vijayanagara monarchs indicates that linkages between sectarian leaders and Vijayanagara kings, whether real or hypothetical, were advantageous not only to the rulers but also to the *gurus*.

Many of the religious preceptors of the Advaita/Smārta tradition, of certain Śaiva sects and even of the Śrī-Vaiṣṇava and Mādhva groups wrote elaborate commentaries on the Vedas and other ancient Sanskrit religious texts. Thus, besides royal legitimation, another result of the state patronage of such sectarians and their monastic establishments was 'vedicization' of Hinduism in southern

India.

Public Celebrations of Festivals

Besides promoting temple cults and sectarian leaders, the Vijayanagara sovereigns also engaged in the public celebration of religious festivals, the most important being the nine-day *Mahānavamī* festival. It is not clear as to when this festival began to be celebrated with great pomp in the court. If the great platform within the 'royal centre' was associated with the royal celebration of this ritual, as is popularly believed, this ritual was already important by or before the end of the fourteenth century, for the earliest phase of construction of the platform dates back to the early Saṅgama times. The grandiose celebration of *Mahānavamī* by the Tuḷuvas is testified by foreign visitors to the city such as Domingo Paes¹⁸ and Fernão Nuniz¹⁹.

The celebration of public rituals, such as *Mahānavamī* was an important royal prerogative and obligation. For it was believed that flourishing festivals would strengthen *dharma*, establish the presence of divine powers in the kingdom and stimulate the cosmic flow of gifts and fertility. A careful perusal of the description of the Vijayanagara rituals of *Mahānavamī* makes clear that the festival, although basically religious in character, had economic, social, political and military overtones. It was the occasion when feudatories and provincial governors had to present themselves at court, pay their allegiance to the sovereign and offer him tribute. The *Mahānavamī* pageantry ended with the magnificent parade, to overawe possible rebels and enemies. The focus of the ceremonies was upon the reigning king and the revitalization of his kingdom and realm. The various rites of this festival reveal that the king and the deity being worshipped were at least homologous, if not equal. Although the king himself was not seen as divine, kingship frequently was and the great royal rituals were attempts to bring into being this divine analogy.²⁰ So important was the *Mahānavamī* ritual for the king and his kingdom and so great was its symbolic value in conferring legitimacy to the monarch that, following the break-up of the Vijayanagara kingdom, the court celebration of this festival was adopted in the various states that arose on the ruins of Vijayanagara, for example, Mysore.

Incorporation of Cult Deities from elsewhere into the Capital

The installation in the capital city of deities from different parts of the kingdom, and even from outside it, appears to have been the policy of the Vijayanagara state, especially under the Tuḷuvas. Among the Śaiva divinities, Mallikārjuna of Shrishailam and, to a lesser extent, Kājahastīśvara of Kalahasti found a place in the city, alongside the main deity of the site, Virūpākṣa. However, given the Vaiṣṇava affiliation of the Tuḷuvas, the importation of the Vaiṣṇava cults was even more significant.

The first dateable evidence of the royal importation into the city of a Vaiṣṇava deity or cult from elsewhere is of Kṛṣṇadevarāya's installing of the image of Bālakṛṣṇa, that he had brought from the Udayagiri hill-fort which he had captured in 1514, in a magnificent temple that he built in 1515 within a newly laid out suburb named Kṛṣṇāpura. As was the case with Devarāya I in the early-fifteenth century when he built the Rāmacandra temple, Kṛṣṇadevarāya, too, was keen to assert that, although he was promoting the Vaiṣṇava cult of Kṛṣṇa, he did not wish to de-link himself from the patron deity of the kingdom, namely, Virūpākṣa. This is revealed by two prominent pillar reliefs, one showing the king worshipping Bālakṛṣṇa and the other, him worshipping Virūpākṣa.²¹

The cult of Viṭṭhala of Pandharpur (which was outside the Vijayanagara territory) had already been present in the city in a small way earlier. However, in the sixteenth century the great Viṭṭhala temple gained so much in importance that, during the twenty-year period just prior to the destruction of the city in 1565, this Vaiṣṇava temple became the chief centre of religious activity in the city, overshadowing in importance even the great Virūpākṣa temple.

Just as the spread of the state-sponsored Virūpākṣa cult from the capital outwards helped the process of gaining legitimacy for the rulers, conversely the incorporation of the gods from the great religious centres of their kingdom into the capital achieved a similar end. The inclusion of new cults and temples into Hampi-Vijayanagara resulted in intense temple building activity in the city in the sixteenth century. Although small and medium-sized temples continued to be built, much of the focus of temple building was on huge religious complexes, to a great extent sponsored by the king and court.

Thus, in the Viṭṭhala temple complex, in 1513, the two queens of Kṛṣṇadevarāya added *gopuras*,²² while the king himself added a hundred-pillar hall in 1516-1517.²³ The most spectacular addition, however, was not made by a monarch, but by an influential court-connected chief; this was the magnificent open pavilion in front of the principal shrine, added in 1554.²⁴ There are also a number of inscriptions within the temple of gifts and grants by rulers and court officials to this temple.²⁵

Another important regional deity brought to the capital was Tiruveṅḡalanātha, also known as Veṅkateśvara or Śrīnivāsa, of Tirumalai-Tirupati. The earliest epigraphical mention of this deity in Vijayanagara is of 1515.²⁶

On the basis of epigraphical and iconographic evidence, eight temples to this divinity can be traced in the city.²⁷ The largest and most important of these is the great temple to Tiruveṅḡalanātha, constructed in 1534, by King Acyutarāya's brother-in-law and prime-minister Hiriya Tirumalarāja within a newly established suburb named Acyutarāyapura after the reigning monarch.

This temple's foundational inscription also records the gift of a village to this temple by the king.²⁸ The next in importance is the medium-sized temple built in 1545 in the suburb of Kṛṣṇāpura (which had been set up by Kṛṣṇadevarāya) by a general who was the agent of regent Rāmarāya's brother and minister Yera-Timmarāja, for the merit of the king, Rāmarāya and of Yera-Timmarāja.²⁹ Another, which is no longer extant, but of which we have an epigraphical mention, was the temple in the suburb of Tirumalā-devī-paṭṭaṇa. This suburb was constructed by Kṛṣṇadevarāya in honour of his senior queen, Tirumalā-devī. Each of the sixteenth century suburbs and quarters of Vijayanagara city had its own temple. It is likely that the main temple of Tirumalā-devī-paṭṭaṇa was of the deity after whom the queen was named, namely, Tirumala-deva or Tiruveṅgalanātha and that this temple was built on the orders of Kṛṣṇadevarāya.³⁰ Thus, three of the temples dedicated to this deity in Vijayanagara and its suburbs were constructed by royal or courtly donors.

Besides the Viṭṭhala and the Tiruveṅgalanātha cults that were incorporated into the city, with one or more large temples being constructed to house these deities, another Vaiṣṇava cult that gained in popularity in Vijayanagara and its environs, particularly in the sixteenth century, was that of Raṅganātha of Shrirangam. A number of temples and shrines to this deity are found at the site, and again, as in former examples, here, too, the cult received courtly patronage.³¹

Royal Patronage of Places of Pilgrimage and Royal Tours of Pilgrimages

The Vijayanagara rulers, particularly the Tuḷuvas, encouraged pilgrimages within their kingdom, possibly to integrate the different language zones within the realm. The important pilgrimage centres were: Chidambaram, Virupaksham, Kalahasti, Tirumalai-Tirupati, Kanchipuram, Shrishailam, Tiruvannamalai, Harihara, Ahobalam, Sangameshvara, Shrirangam, Jambukeshvaram, Kumbhakonam, Mahanadi, Gokarnam, Rameshvaram and Anantashayanam. Several of these were considered to be substitutes for northern pilgrimage sites, which were now difficult to visit; for instance a visit to Ekāmranātha of Kanchipuram was equivalent to a visit to Kashi. The Vijayanagara rulers, especially Kṛṣṇadevarāya and Acyutarāya, of the Tuḷuva dynasty, themselves often undertook pilgrimages.

Two pilgrimage sites, namely, Tirumalai-Tirupati and Kanchipuram (or Kanchi) have been chosen to illustrate how pilgrimage sites received royal support during this period. Also a brief account of Kṛṣṇadevarāya's most extensive tour of pilgrimage made in 1516-1517 will show the importance of pilgrimages and patronage of pilgrim centres and their cults in the political processes, particularly during the sixteenth century.

Although Tirumalai-Tirupati figures in the earliest Tamil secular literature of the Saṅgama age, the growth of this site as a pilgrimage centre dates from the Cola period onwards, especially from the eleventh century when it became a sanctuary for Vaiṣṇavas fleeing from persecution from the Śaiva Colas. Another factor that prompted its development was the Muslim invasions of southern India during the early fourteenth century. In this period the temple became a refuge for many Vaiṣṇavite priests from southern Tamil Nadu and even for the major cult deity of Shrirangam, Raṅganātha. Yet, in spite of its pre-Vijayanagara history as a sacred site, Tirumalai-Tirupati rose to its position as the greatest pilgrimage site of southern India only in the Vijayanagara period and that too only under the second, third and fourth dynasties. The Saṅgamas evinced little interest in this temple site. But, in the mid-fifteenth century the local governor of nearby Chandragiri, Sāluva Narasimha, who later usurped the throne, proved to be a great devotee of Tiruveṅkaṇātha and a generous donor. His example was emulated by later rulers.

Out of the 1250 odd epigraphs of Tirumalai-Tirupati that have been published, the vast majority are of the Vijayanagara period, only 150 being of pre-Vijayanagara times. While only 59 epigraphs are of the Saṅgama period, 168 are of the Sāluva period; the greatest number are of the Tuḷuva period: 229 of the reign of Kṛṣṇadevarāya, 251 of Acyutarāya's reign (1529-1542), and 176 of the reign of Sadāśiva (1542-1567). Among the Āraṇḍi rulers, the greatest devotee of Tiruveṅkaṇātha was Venkata II (1586-1614), from whose reign there are 192 records. The donors to this pilgrimage site during the Vijayanagara period include a large variety of state donors (such as kings, queens, ministers, viceroys, generals and royal officers) and also private donors. The state patronage of this pilgrimage site was truly exceptional³² and it was decisive in its rise to importance and popularity.

Of the Saṅgama monarchs, Devarāya II visited the Tirumalai temple in 1429 and presented 1,200 gold coins for the daily offerings. He also instituted a temple festival and granted three villages for conducting it.³³

The Sāluva family was closely associated with the region of Tirumalai-Tirupati since their headquarters at Chandragiri was only twelve kilometres south-west of Tirupati town. From 1457 onwards till the end of the century the inscriptions in this pilgrimage centre seem to refer to members of this family and their benefactions. Sāluva Narasimha greatly enhanced the reputation and prestige of this holy site by instituting new services and charities in the form of festivals and processions,³⁴ flower gardens,³⁵ and *Rāmānuja-kuṭas*³⁶ (free feeding places for Śrī-Vaiṣṇava brahmins) both at Tirumalai and Tirupati and extending the temple at Tirumalai and Tirupati by building *maṇḍapas*, a tank, and a new shrine.³⁷ For the maintenance of all these he endowed the Tirumalai temple with about a dozen villages.³⁸ The king installed his preceptor, Kaṇḍaḍai

Rāmānuja Aiyāṅgar, as his permanent agent at this pilgrimage site. The latter and his successors were in charge of the *Rāmānuja-kuṭas* at Tirumalai and Tirupati and the king also appointed him as the guardian of the gold treasury of the Tirumalai temple.³⁹ This sectarian leader was himself in turn a great donor to this site.⁴⁰ Sāluva Narasirṅha's munificence to the temples of Tirumalai-Tirupati was emulated by his officials.

State patronage of this pilgrimage site reached its zenith under the Tujuvas. Vira Narasirṅha performed the *tulāpuruṣa-dāna* in gold in this temple.⁴¹ It is believed that Kṛṣṇadevarāya made seven visits to Tirumalai. On his first visit in 1513 he presented a jewelled crown, other jewels and twenty-five silver plates⁴² and his two queens each presented a gold cup to the deity.⁴³ The king's second visit was in the same year when he gifted a number of ornaments.⁴⁴ During his third visit, also in 1513, he granted three villages.⁴⁵ His fourth visit took place the following year, when he presented 30,000 gold coins and a village.⁴⁶ During his fifth visit in 1517 he gifted another 30,000 gold coins for the gilding of the *vimāna* and valuable jewels to the deity. He also granted certain taxes of neighbouring villages for specified offerings to the god.⁴⁷ The sixth visit is believed to have been made in 1518, with his senior queen Tirumalā-devī, in gratitude for the birth of their son, who was named Tirumala after the deity. On the occasion of his seventh visit, in 1521, the king granted, among other gifts, 10,000 gold coins and Tirumalā-devī presented a pendant.⁴⁸ The bronze statues of the king and his two queens in the Tirumalai temple also reveal the extraordinary devotion that Kṛṣṇadevarāya had to this temple and the great importance he attached to this site (Plate XVIII). The principal royal officers of Kṛṣṇadevarāya such as Sāluva Timmarāsa,⁴⁹ Sāluva Govindarāja,⁵⁰ and Koṇḍamarasayya⁵¹ also figure in the epigraphs at this site.

The importance of Tirumalai-Tirupati was so clearly established by the early sixteenth century that Acyutarāya had had himself coronated at Tirumalai,⁵² following which the ritual was repeated in nearby Kalahasti and then in the capital city of Vijayanagara. On his first visit to the temple as king in 1533, along with queen Varadāji-amman and crownprince Veṅkaṭādri, he presented valuable ornaments,⁵³ while on his second visit in 1535 he instituted two new festivals.⁵⁴ The king appears to have made a third visit in 1537, from certain gifts made by a number of his officers simultaneously. Among other benefactions of the king was the construction of the sacred Kapila-tīrtham in Tirupati,⁵⁵ the erection of the temple Acyuta-Perumal in Tirupati⁵⁶ and the sending of dancers to the temple from Vijayanagara.⁵⁷

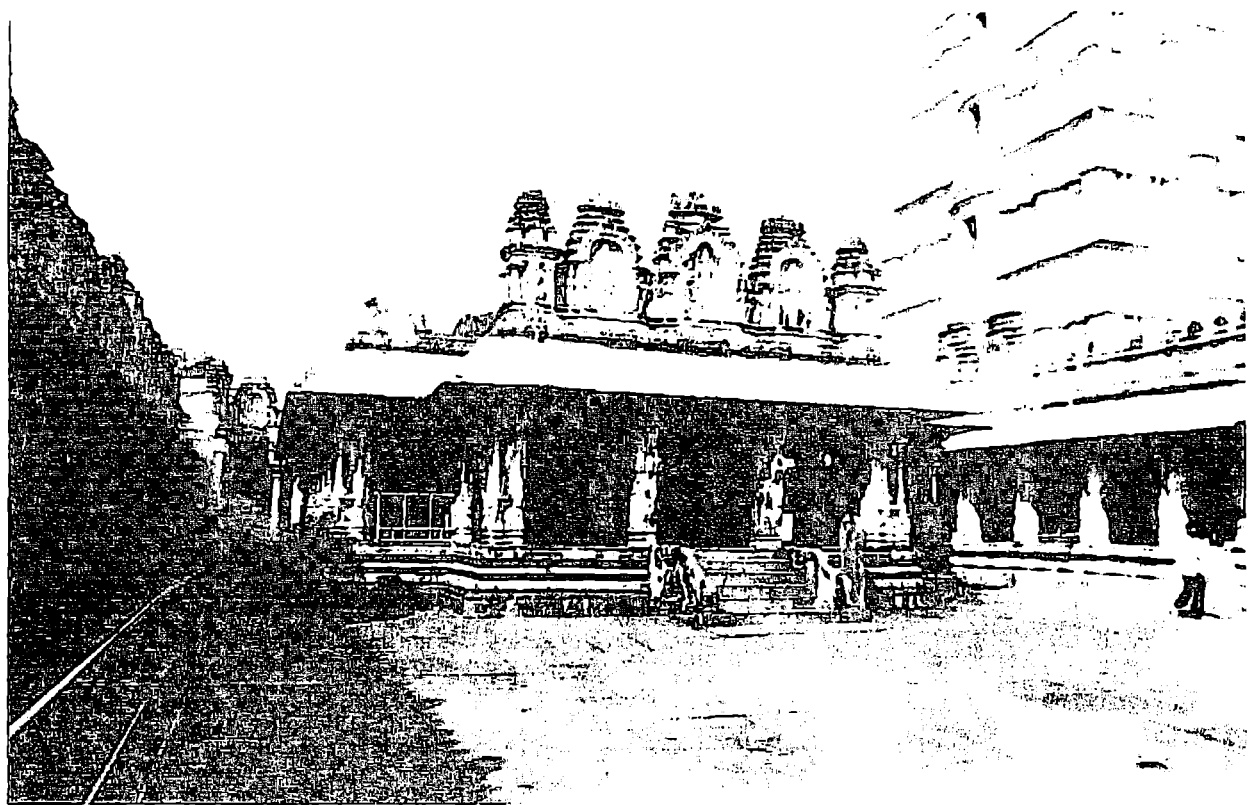
The donations of the last Tujuva ruler, Sadāśiva, who was a mere puppet in the hands of his regent Rāmarāya of the Āravīdu family, are fewer than those of his predecessors. The most important was the grant of specified

taxes in sixteen provinces of the kingdom to the Nammālvār *Rāmānuja-kuṭa* at Tirupati built by the Āraṇḍu chief Koṇḍarāja.⁵⁸ More important than the royal benefactions were those made by members of the influential Āraṇḍu family,⁵⁹ whose patronage continued even after they usurped power. Indeed, Venkaṭa II, who shifted his capital to Chandragiri, even replaced the royal sign-manual from 'Śrī-Virūpākṣa' to 'Śrī-Venkaṭeśa'.

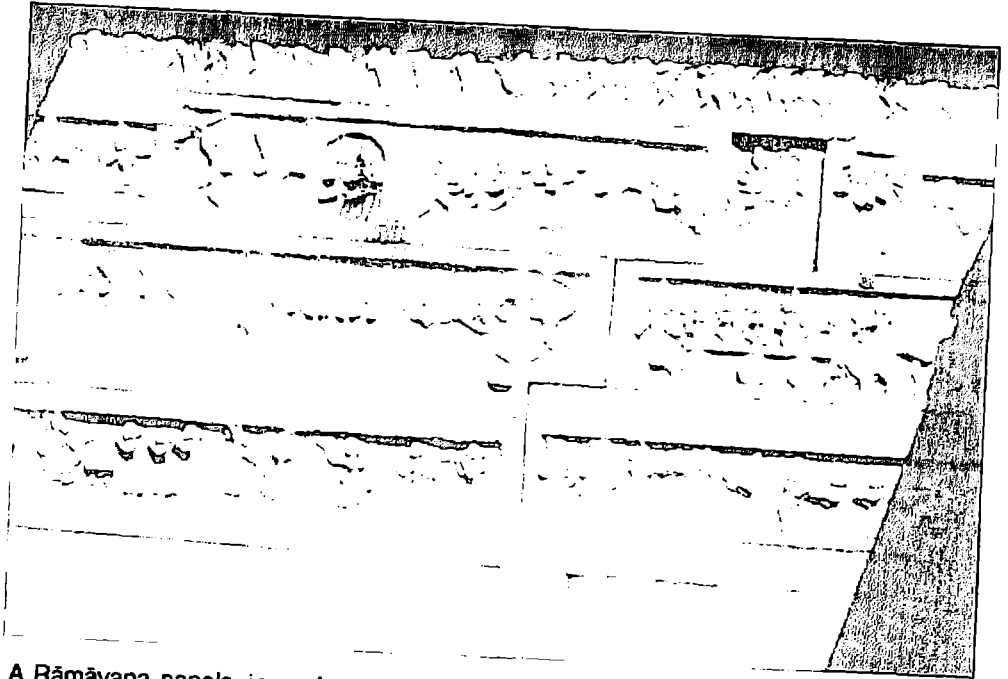
The immense patronage extended to Tirumalai-Tirupati by the Sāluvas, Tuḷuvas and Āraṇḍus might partly be explained as the result of the personal devotion of the members of these families to Tiruveṅkaṭanātha. However, the fact that they also hoped to gain political advantage from doing so is clear from the fact that their benefactions were widely advertised through inscriptions. Sometimes, as in the case of Kṛṣṇadevarāya, his donations were usually recorded not just many times, but also in the three principal languages of the kingdom, namely, Telugu, Tamil and Kannada. Obviously the intention in doing so was to impress the subjects, who visited this pilgrimage centre in increasing numbers, with the generosity of the king and his officials to this pilgrimage site and its cult deities.

The location of Tirumalai-Tirupati also explains the reason why this pilgrimage site, which was of less importance earlier as compared to many other sites, was raised to the position of the pre-eminent place of pilgrimage in southern India: it is situated close to Chandragiri, which was an important provincial headquarters, from where the Sāluva chief made a successful bid for the throne. Also Tirumalai-Tirupati, though at that time located within the Tamil zone, was on the border between the Telugu and Tamil zones. Royal patronage of this site and generous benefactions to it would give the rulers credibility with peoples of both linguistic zones who began flocking to this site due to the increased festivals and facilities that were instituted there.

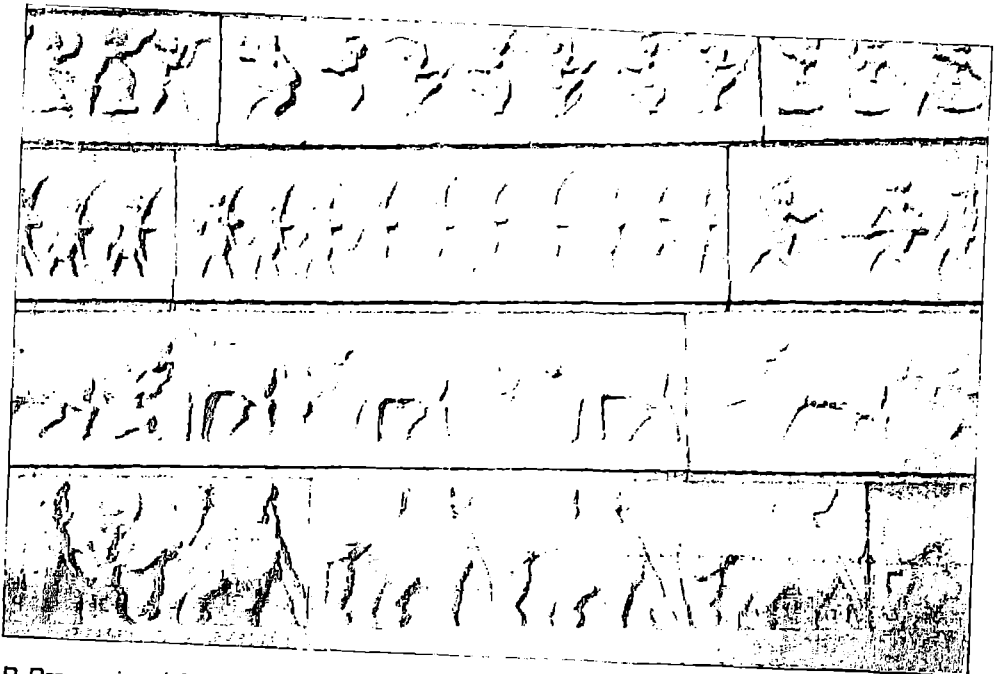
If Tirumalai-Tirupati was raised to the status of an outstanding pilgrimage site by Vijayanagara patronage, Kanchipuram has a long previous history not only of sanctity but of royal favour. For it had not only been the capital of the Pallava dynasty, but also, just prior to the foundation of Vijayanagara, it had been the seat of the local ruling house of the Śambuvarāyas. During the reign of the second Vijayanagara king, Bukka I (1356-1377), the Tamil zone had been conquered by the successful defeat of the Śambuvarāyas of Kanchi and the sultan of Madurai (Ma-bar) and the Tamil territories had been brought under Vijayanagara rule. The hold of Vijayanagara over the Tamil zone was often tenuous; to strengthen their control over this zone, provincial governors, the *Nāyakas*, were appointed at places such as Gingee, Thanjavur and Madurai, who as the central power weakened, gradually asserted first their autonomy and finally their independence. It would appear that assignments to *Nāyakas* on an extensive scale were resorted to in the last



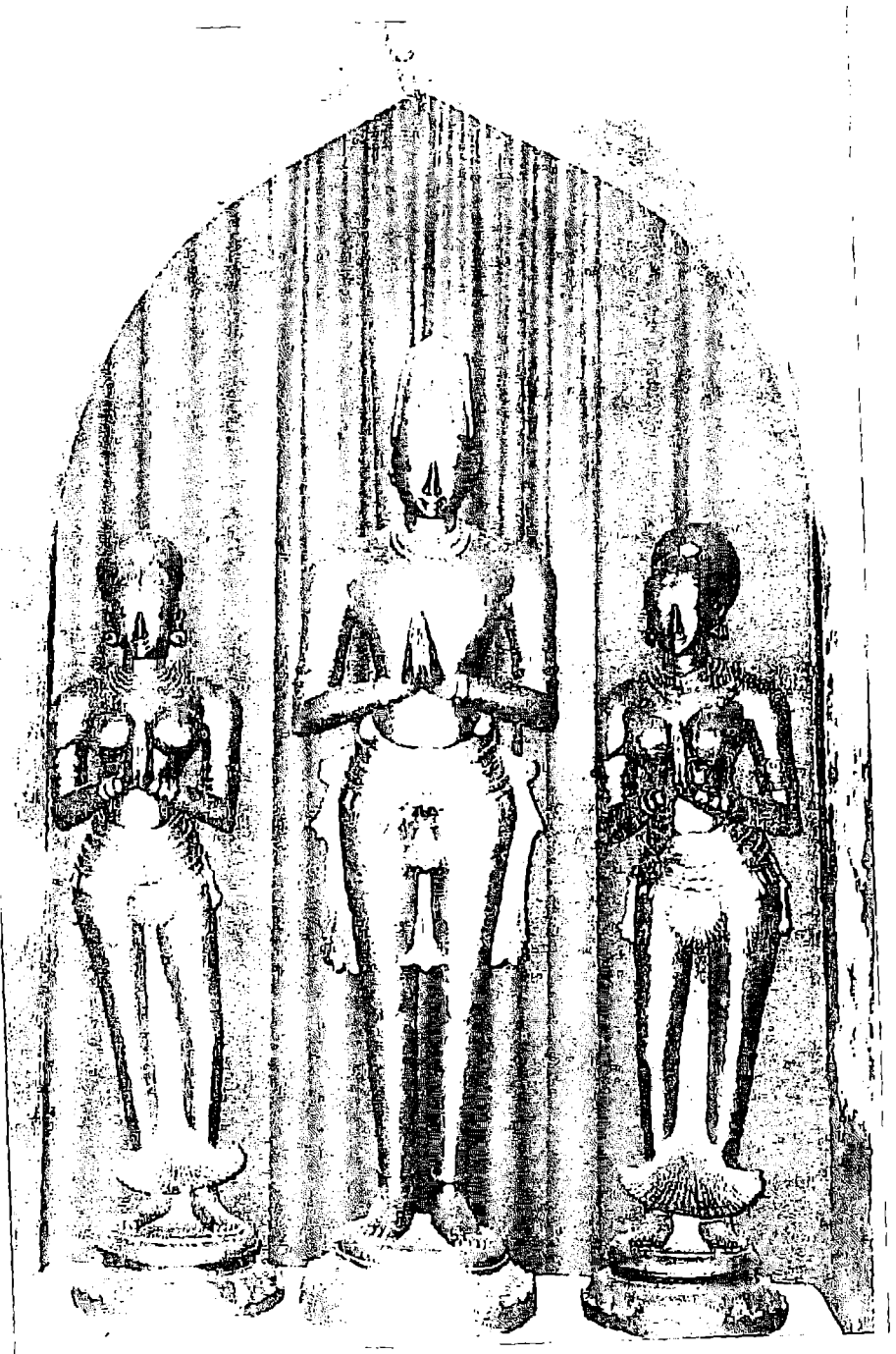
Virūpākṣa temple complex, Vijayanagara.



A Rāmāyaṇa panels, inner face of the enclosure wall,
Rāmacandra temple, Vijayanagara.



B Processional frieze, exterior wall, Rāmacandra temple.



Replicas of metal statues of Kṛṣṇadevarāya and his consorts, Tirumalai.

quarter of the fifteenth and early sixteenth century, after the kingdom had begun to face strong tendencies towards local independence. In the Tamil areas the *Nāyakas* were often outsiders, mainly Telugu warriors.⁶⁰

In Kanchipuram there are numerous temples, the two most famous ones being the Vaiṣṇava temple of Varadarājasvāmī and the Śaiva temple of Ekāmranātha. Both, but to a greater extent the former, received benefactions from the Vijayanagara state. As in the case of Tirumalai-Tirupati, the patronage of Kanchi as a pilgrimage site was mainly in the later Vijayanagara period.

The Vijayanagara period was a prosperous one for the Varadarāja temple, for it received enormous gifts by way of land, money, jewels, vehicles and structural additions of a *gopura*, many *maṇḍapas*, and separate shrines for the *ālvārs* and *ācāryas* (the Śrī-Vaiṣṇava semi-deified saints). However, a careful perusal of the records shows that this was sponsored mainly by kings Kṛṣṇadevarāya, Acyutarāya and Venkaṭa II, as well as by the Āravīḍu chiefs. It did not enjoy much patronage from private citizens. This indicates that the cult and the pilgrimage area were deliberately sponsored by the state and that, too, mainly in the sixteenth century.⁶¹

The greatest donors to this site were Kṛṣṇadevarāya and Acyutarāya. The former in 1514 gilded with gold the *vimāna* of the Varadarāja temple.⁶² In January 1517 he visited the temple and gifted it with five villages and 1000 gold coins;⁶³ and the same year he visited Kanchi once again and granted two villages for the float festival of the Ekāmranātha temple, regulated the processional routes of the Ekāmranātha and Varadarāja temples and presented a vehicle to each.⁶⁴ The last act is clearly one of direct royal involvement in this pilgrimage site, for better ordering of ritual and festive arrangements. *Guru* Vyāsarāya also granted a village, which he had received from Kṛṣṇadevarāya, to the Varadarāja temple and presented a serpent vehicle.⁶⁵ Vehicles were and still are used by temples to take out the processional deities on festival days; obviously such occasions would attract large crowds and the vehicles gifted by the king and his *guru* would be noted by many.

Acyutarāya took an even greater interest in promoting this pilgrimage site. At the time of his coronation he presented a number of villages to be divided equally between Ekāmranātha and Varadarāja.⁶⁶ He gifted fourteen villages to the temple of Varadarāja on another occasion.⁶⁷ In 1533, in the company of queen Varadāji-amman and prince Venkaṭādri, he performed the *tulāpuruṣa-dāna* in pearls at the same temple and assigned to the temple the income of seventeen villages, gifted it with 1000 cows and other valuable gifts.⁶⁸ From the reign of Sadāśiva, there is record of regent Rāmarāya's repair to the stone steps of a tank and of gifts to the Varadarāja temple.⁶⁹ A number of subordinate chiefs also made endowments.⁷⁰

The Vijayanagara rulers, especially the Tuḷuvas, besides promoting pilgrimage centres, also went on tours of pilgrimage, either to individual sites or to a number of places. Such tours, along with the grants to pilgrimage centres that accompanied them, were, besides being acts of piety and personal devotion, also statements of the king's wealth and power and an assertion of his sovereignty over these and adjacent areas. The most spectacular of such pilgrimage tours was the protracted one undertaken by Kṛṣṇadevarāya in 1516-1517, on his brilliantly successful completion of the long-drawn out war against the ruler of Orissa.

The war against the Gajapati ruler of Orissa had been a protracted one (1513-1516), involving a number of campaigns for the recovery of territory captured by the former in the Andhra region: the storming of the hill-fort of Udayagiri, the capture of Kondavidu, the seizure of Kondapalli and the planting of a pillar of victory at Simhadri-potnuru by Kṛṣṇadevarāya. After each stage of this war, the king had visited and made lavish donations to various temples in the Andhra region, in his capital, and the temple of his favourite deity Venkateśvara at Tirumalai, and, occasionally, also to its neighbouring Śaiva sacred site of Kalahasti. On the successful re-conquest of the Andhra territories from the Gajapati, the *rāya*, along with his two queens had visited and made donations to the temple of Lakṣmī-Narasimha at Simhachalam, in the Andhra region, and then returned to his capital, from where he proceeded on his great southern tour of pilgrimage.⁷¹ Outwardly a tour to express his gratitude to the gods of his kingdom, it was also a victory march, to overawe putative rebels and to give an opportunity for provincial governors, officials, sectarian leaders and the public to profess allegiance to the victorious monarch as he progressed through his kingdom visiting temples and lavishing rich gifts on them.

Kṛṣṇadevarāya's tour began from Vijayanagara towards the end of 1516 and he returned to his capital in mid-1517. During the course of his tour the king visited his favourite temple at Tirumalai (his fifth visit) and gave lavish gifts to it. It was during this visit that the statues in metal of the king and his consorts were placed in the temple. Three days after the visit to Tirumalai, he was at Kalahasti; on this occasion he gave a donation for building a hundred-pillar *maṇḍapa* there as well as a big *gopura*.⁷²

He then proceeded southwards. On January 14, 1517, he was at Kanchi, where he gifted the Varadarāja temple with five villages and 1000 gold coins, as mentioned earlier. The sovereign also visited the famous Śaiva temples at Tiruvannamalai and Chidambaram. According to epigraphic evidence, he is believed to have made various additions to the Aruṇācalesvara temple at Tiruvannamalai⁷³ and he built the northern *gopura* of the Naṭarāja temple at Chidambaram.⁷⁴

The king also went to the Raṅganātha temple at Shrirangam and gifted to it five villages, various jewels and precious stones.⁷⁵ During the course of this southern pilgrimage tour, he was at Kumbhakonam at the beginning of February 1517, where he attended the great *Mahāmakham* festival, held once every twelve years.⁷⁶

While in the Tamil territory, the king remitted certain taxes in villages owned by a number of Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva temples. This is inscribed in several places; these epigraphs also mention the king's victories in the Orissan war.⁷⁷

A number of records in the Tamil country also register the aggregate of 10,000 gold coins that Kṛṣṇadevarāya gave to several Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava temples that are mentioned by name. These records, too, give a long list of the king's victories in the recent war.⁷⁸

On his journey from the far south back to his capital, the monarch once again stopped at Kanchi, where he made gifts, as mentioned earlier, to the two great temples here and regulated the route of their processions. Kṛṣṇadevarāya returned to his capital after his triumphant tour in June 1517, as is evident from his inscription there of a land grant to god Tiruveṅgaṅaṅātha.⁷⁹

It is worth noting that, this the greatest of his pilgrimage tours, was principally to the Tamil zone, where he gifted innumerable temples, many of the inscriptions of his gifts also mentioning his military achievements at length. The latter is not the case with the epigraphs noting his benefactions during the same period at Vijayanagara. This is not surprising, for by the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, while the state hold over the capital was secure, it was already becoming difficult to control the distant Tamil lands. Kṛṣṇadevarāya's pilgrimage gave high visibility to the king as not only a great patron of religion and art, but also a great conqueror and an extremely rich and powerful ruler; the underlying message was clear: against such a monarch anyone would dare to rebel only at great risk.

Conclusion

Thus, we see that religious activities, of various types, were used by the Vijayanagara *rāyas* for a variety of purposes. No doubt, at one level religious benefactions and activities were due to their personal beliefs and devotion; however, there were many other layers of meaning and significance, not the least of which was conferring of sanction and legitimacy on the rulers and providing opportunities for the display of their wealth and power.

As already seen, in the early Vijayanagara period the promotion of local cults and also of regional cults was given importance. Affiliations with powerful sectarian leaders and the public celebration of festivals, with the king and

the god at the centre, were important both in the early and later periods. In the later Vijayanagara period, particularly under the Tuluvas, the patronage of local cults lost in comparative importance to the incorporation of the great deities of the Deccan and southern India into their capital and the sponsoring of pilgrimage centres, very especially Tirumalai-Tirupati, as well as royal tours of pilgrimage.

Although this paper has concentrated on the Vijayanagara state patronage of Hindu religious activities, it must not be believed that other sects and religious groups were not also incorporated into the capital and kingdom. Jaina institutions received state support and Muslims enjoyed freedom to practise their religion and to construct their religious edifices in the capital city.⁶⁰ But, since these do not appear to have been used specifically for purposes of legitimation, the state policy towards these religions lies outside the scope of this paper.

The question arises as to why the Vijayanagara rulers needed legitimation and, hence, used religion partially to this end. The answer lies partly in the fact that all four dynasties were, in a sense, upstarts with no royal pedigree prior to their accession to power. Therefore, the early kings of each needed to establish legitimacy for their rule in various ways, the use of religion being one important means for this. But, more importantly, this was due to the historical conditions.

An analysis of the historical reality of the Vijayanagara kingdom reveals a limited degree of political cohesion. Only rarely did rulers enjoy complete and total control over their territories. Usually they were challenged by governors, commanders or even powerful ministers, who made repeated and at times successful bids for autonomy or for power, as the history of three successful usurpations of the throne and later establishment of powerful *Nāyaka* successor states proves. Vijayanagara, the greatest of all medieval southern Indian kingdoms, should not be understood as monolithic. Rather it was a complex polity based upon a balance of forces, often more precarious than stable, between the Vijayanagara monarchs at the capital and their representatives at the provincial centres. The Vijayanagara state also incorporated a wide spectrum of local chiefs and warriors, especially in more remote and less populated districts. Their position was based partly on the authority invested in them by the *rāyas*; in turn, the Vijayanagara monarchs often relied upon the financial and military support from these lesser figures, who were expected to remit taxes and to contribute arms, troops and war-animals on demand. This mutual dependency of rulers and their subordinates is an outstanding historical feature of the era, replicated in all the Vijayanagara successor states.⁶¹

Given this historical scenario, the Vijayanagara rulers made attempts through various means, including religious ones, to disperse their influence over large tracts of land: promoting the local cults of Virūpākṣa and also of Rāma;

establishing a homology between these gods at the capital and the earthly monarch from where the power of both divinities and protector kings spread outwards through the realm, served this end. Through the sponsorship of regional deities, the *rāyas* established significant networks of relationships with regional centres of power. Incorporating the main gods of the realm and even outside it by building temples for them in the capital achieved similar ends. Promoting the grandiose celebrations of the *Mahānavamī* ritual was a means of establishing not only the king's ritual superiority, but also of gathering wealth, and arms, and even of keeping a check on subordinate chiefs. Linkages with powerful sectarians, most of whom had connections with regional temples or monasteries, also established relationships that complemented the political networks with regional chiefs and provincial governors. Besides this, the sectarian leaders often acted as agents of the *rāyas* in their localities, as did the Uttamanambi family at Shrirangam and Kaṇḍaḍai Rāmānuja Aiyāṅgar at both Tirumalai-Tirupati and Shrirangam. The promotion of great pilgrimage centres, through constructional activities, fostering of new festivals etc., and tours of pilgrimages accompanied by lavish benefactions not only enabled monarchs to keep in touch with various parts of their vast kingdom and with local peoples, but also served the need of demonstrating the king's strength, power and resources. The profusion of building projects sponsored by kings, as well as ministers and other royal officers, and the extensive grants of villages and jewels for temple rituals and festivals, can, therefore, be interpreted within a wider political context as acts intended to reinforce claims to authority and legitimacy. The political gains from such patronage of pilgrimage centres are obvious when one considers that the centres in the more volatile Tamil zone received much greater attention than those in the Andhra or Kannada zones.

What is of interest is not just the use of religion by Vijayanagara rulers for purposes of reinforcing royal authority and securing legitimacy, but also the wide variety of ways in which religion was used, as well as the shift in emphasis in the ways in which religion was used to this end. Thus, the earliest method, namely, that of promoting the local cult deities lost in importance in the sixteenth century. Thereby, the cult of Virūpākṣa gradually became less important in Vijayanagara in the sixteenth century. It had been presumed that this shift away from the centrality of the Virūpākṣa temple and cult was due to the fact that the later dynasties were Vaiṣṇava in affiliation. But that alone is not the reason, for the cult of Rāma, too, seems to have been emphasised much less by the Vaiṣṇava Sāluva and Tuḷuva dynasties than by the later Saṅgamas who were Śaivas. Therefore, one can conclude that the main reason for this shift was that sixteenth century monarchs found other ways of using religion for their political ends, that served their needs better, than the methods used by the Saṅgamas. To conclude, religion, in a variety of ways, was used to serve the political ends of the Vijayanagara state. As a result of such

patronage, no doubt, religion, its institutions and its votaries also benefited immensely. The relationship was one of mutual benefit to all the concerned parties.

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Illustrations

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Dr. Ambedkar and The Constitution

Eleanor Zelliot

Statues of Dr. Babasaheb B. R. Ambedkar can be found in almost every town and hamlet in India.* A city-ordained statue dominates the town square; less sophisticated statues of all sorts appear in the Dalit¹ quarters. Both kinds of images almost always carry a replica of a book, and that book is the Constitution of India. Ambedkar is seen by Dalits as the Maker of the Constitution or the Father of the Constitution, a matter of great pride for all of his followers. The volume of *Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar: Writings and Speeches* which contains his work on the constitution is titled, "*Dr. Ambedkar: The Principal Architect of the Constitution of India.*"² This paper will be partially about Ambedkar's work on the Constitution, but it also will deal with the importance of that work for Dalits and with the current Dalit attitude toward efforts to revise the Constitution.

Dr. Ambedkar's Role in Creating the Constitution of India

B. R. Ambedkar was elected to the Constituent Assembly from the Bengal Assembly in November of 1946, having failed to get support from Bombay "due to Congress opposition."³ However, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, President of the Constituent Assembly, requested the Prime Minister of Bombay, B. G. Kher, to elect Ambedkar from Bombay for the second session after Ambedkar's widely praised speeches in the first session on December 15, 1946, and after the partition of Bengal deprived him of that seat. On the 3rd of August, 1947, just before Independence was declared on the 15th of August, it was announced that Ambedkar would be Minister for Law in the first Cabinet of independent India. On the 29th of August, 1947, he was elected Chairman of the Drafting Committee, and continued in that position until the Constitution was accepted in 1950. The editorial comment in the *Writing and Speeches* volume notes the irony of this: "Dr. Ambedkar, who was a strong opponent of Congress had now become their friend, philosopher and guide in the Constitutional matters."⁴

It has been supposed by many that Mahatma Gandhi recommended to Nehru that Ambedkar be named Law Minister, but there is no concrete proof of this. Indeed, Gandhi and Ambedkar had quarreled bitterly over the way

* This paper was prepared for a conference on the Constitution led by Prof. D. R. SarDesai at the University of California, Los Angeles in January 1999.

in which Untouchables were to be given their rights - through Gandhian emphasis on high caste change of heart, or Ambedkarian emphasis on legal rights and political power.⁵ S. M. Gaikwad throws light on the selection of Ambedkar in a recent article, in the process taking on Arun Shouri, the harsh critic of all Ambedkar's actions⁶:

"It is important to bear in mind that it was Ambedkar's political challenge which forced the Congress to appreciate the national significance of the problem of the scheduled castes and to adopt certain measures which in due course, contributed towards broadening and strengthening the social base of Indian nationalism... (This influenced) Gandhi's unhesitant decision to accede to the request of the scheduled caste members of the constituent assembly that Ambedkar should be included in independent India's first government. Shourie's assertion that Ambedkar requested Jagjivan Ram to recommend his name, is false. In fact Babu Jagjivan Ram... openly declined to support that proposal. I am making this categorical statement on the basis of information given by my uncle R. M. Nalawade who was a member of the constituent assembly's important Steering Committee besides being a member of the All-India Congress Committee. According to him, Nehru and Sardar Patel were totally opposed to consideration of Ambedkar's name. It was Gandhi, who without any hesitation, welcomed the idea of including Ambedkar in the government..."⁷

Before his appointment to the Constituent Assembly, Ambedkar had thought a great deal about a Constitution. In 1945, however, in the heat of the pre-partition discussions, he had said, "I am wholly opposed to the proposals of a Constituent Assembly... which may involve this country in a Civil War."⁸ In 1947 he had even prepared a proposed "Constitution of the United States of India" which is a very different document from the actual draft Constitution he defended before the Constituent Assembly.⁹ In that he proposed that agriculture be a state industry, an idea which Ambedkar regarded as the only solution to the problems of the Scheduled Castes, the great majority of whom were agricultural labour. He proposed separate electorates and separate villages for Scheduled Castes. These proposals were abandoned as the constitution took shape, but other proposals were included: anti-untouchability clauses, provision for an officer to look after minority affairs, representation of Scheduled Castes in legislatures and the services, and special government responsibility for the education of the Scheduled Castes.

As chairman of the Constituent Assembly, Dr. Ambedkar spoke to every issue. His testimony is a tribute to a fine judicial mind, one very aware of historical comparisons to the Indian situation. He was normally a conciliatory

mediator, issuing judicious responses to amendments. A compilation of his speeches and responses, set in the briefest of contexts, runs to 1229 pages.¹⁰ Granville Austin's careful study of the making of the Constitution lists more notations only for Nehru in his index.¹¹

Although his role as skilful chairman and negotiator is clear, the way in which he put his own agenda aside (except for the matter of justice for Scheduled Castes) is less obvious. Perhaps this can be seen clearly in his change of position on the issue of land ownership.

In his first speech in the Constituent Assembly, while he was still only a representative from Bengal, Ambedkar took exception to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's Resolution on human rights in the Aims and Objects list. He had two criticisms: "Rights are nothing unless remedies are provided whereby people can seek to obtain redress when rights are invaded" and "I should have expected... that in order that there may be social and economic justice in the country, that there would be nationalisation of industry and nationalisation of land."¹² The speech was made before Ambedkar became chairman of the Drafting Committee and reflects a long held conviction of Dr. Ambedkar that the village was the seat of problems for the Untouchable, a "den of iniquity" and that the economic dependence of village Untouchables on caste Hindus must be broken. He had proposed separate villages for the "Depressed classes" in 1930 before the State Committee¹³; he fought in the Bombay Legislature in the 1930's for the abolition of *watan*, the system whereby the Mahar as a village servant received a small amount of land for traditional village duties. While land *satyagrahas* were not to be held until after his death, it is clear that he considered land of paramount importance for the freedom and economic progress of the Untouchable. He never endorsed the Soviet system, chiefly because he saw it as undemocratic and because he despised the Bombay Communists as "a bunch of Brahman boys", but he did plead for a solution to the problem of the landless labourer, the vast majority of them Untouchables.

Faith in the workings of the Constitution brought him to a different position and he put his faith in the democratic future of India to determine the disposition of land: On the 15th of November, 1948, he said:

How the Society should be organised in its social and economic side are matters which must be decided by the people themselves according to time and circumstance. It cannot be laid down in the Constitution itself because that is destroying democracy... It is perfectly possible today, for the majority people to hold that the Socialist organisation of Society is better than the Capitalist organisation of society. But it would be perfectly possible for thinking people to devise some other form of social organisation which might be better

than the socialist organisation of today or tomorrow.¹⁴

The Tributes to Ambedkar

We can learn much about the work of Dr. Ambedkar from the praise given him and the evaluations of him in the final session of the Constituent Assembly. For instance, these remarks, all from *Writings and Speeches*: "the masterly way in which Ambedkar piloted (the Constitution) will be remembered... by the posterity with gratitude" (page 1180). "He (Ambedkar) is lucidity and clarity personified" (page 1182). "He has performed a task worthy of the great Pandava Bhim and worthy of the name that he has: Bhim Rao Ambedkar" (page 1184). "We are sure to miss the stentorian voice of Dr. Ambedkar explaining in a crystal clear manner the provisions of the Constitution" (page 1190). (He brought a) "steam-roller intellect... to bear upon this magnificent and tremendous task: irresistible, indomitable, unconquerable, levelling down tall palms and short poppies: whatever he felt to be right he stood by, regardless of consequences" (page 1202).

There were some evaluations of Ambedkar that are almost amusing in their extravagance. One he would not have endorsed because he tried desperately all his life to be more than a caste leader, was from H. J. Khandekar (from C. P. and Berar, but also a Maharashtrian):

"Now today, Sir, we endorse a law of Independent India under the genius of Dr. Ambedkar, the President of the Drafting Committee. If I may do so, Sir, I call this Constitution the Mahar law, because Dr. Ambedkar is Mahar and now when we inaugurate this Constitution on the 26th of January 1950 we shall have the law of Manu replaced by the law of Mahar and I hope that unlike the law of Manu under which was never a prosperity in the country the Mahar law will make India virtually a paradise..." (*Writings and Speeches*, pages 1175-1176).

Although today's followers of Ambedkar would be incensed at the title of "Mahar law", they would certainly agree that Manu was replaced by the Constitution.

Mahboob Ali Baig Sahib, from Madras, suggests that Ambedkar's understanding of the needs of the Muslims may have been subverted by the larger group of Congress representatives:

"(Addressed to Dr. Ambedkar): Some of us... who did not belong to the dominant party would have been helpless if you had not come to our rescue and allowed us to have our say in the matter... Dr. Ambedkar was unique in his clarity of expression and thought, and his mastery over the Constitutional problems including those of finance has been marvellous, unique, singular and complete. But... he was not a free agent. So the evils or the defects

in the Constitution as it is placed before us today are inherent in the situation in which he was placed and he cannot therefore be personally responsible for them..." (*Writings and Speeches*, page 1176).

A non-Brahmin from Madras foreshadowed the current Dalit idea about the importance of the image of a conquering Ambedkar as a representative of the Scheduled Castes: Shri S. Nagappa noted that Dr. Ambedkar's work was so efficient and able that "this stigma of inefficiency attached to the Scheduled Castes will be washed away and will not be attached hereafter. Only if opportunities are given, they will prove better than anyone else." (*Writings and Speeches* pages 1177-1178).

This evaluation suggests one of Ambedkar's influences on the Constitution—the creation of opportunities for the dispossessed through a reservation system for Scheduled Castes and Tribes. The quotation from Mahboob suggests a concern for Muslims and refers to a proposal for a distribution of seats that would eliminate or lessen the Hindu advantage, a proposal which was defeated. The Nagappa quotation also picks up one of reasons Ambedkar is considered the Saviour of Dalits - the washing away of the stigma of inferiority.

Later Evaluations of Ambedkar's Work

Granville Austin sounds a somewhat critical note in his judgment that "Ambedkar's manner towards the Assembly was often quite haughty, although his explanations when he chose to give them were brilliantly lucid. He was described as explaining a minor point with the air of a Sherlock Holmes making things clear for his Watson. 'The Hindustan Times, 4 June 1949'."¹⁵

R. D. Bhandare thinks that the Directive Principles of State Policy are the unique and singular contribution made by Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar to Constitutionalism.¹⁶ The Directive Principles are different from the seven Fundamental Rights (Right to Equality, to Freedom, etc.), or the Fundamental Duties (to abide by the Constitution, to defend the country, etc.) and include such ideas as these, which certainly reflect Ambedkar's previously held views:

"State to secure a social order for the promotion of welfare of the people.
 Living wage for workers.
 Free and compulsory education.
 Promotion of education and economic interests of Scheduled Castes,
 Scheduled Tribes and other weaker sections.
 Separation of judiciary from executive."

Kulke and Eberhard play down Ambedkar's role in favour of Patel's power as a Congressman in integrating the princely states, calming the minorities and, indeed, serving as the architect of the Constitution:

But even the justiciable fundamental rights were so carefully defined and hedged about by emergency provisions which permitted their suspension that a Communist Party member of the Constituent Assembly complained that this part of the constitution looked as if it had been drafted by a policeman. He was not too far off the mark with this statement, because Home Minister Patel - the supreme chief of all policemen - was the main architect of this constitution. Law Minister Dr. Ambedkar, who had been given this portfolio although he was not a member of the Congress, did not have the sort of political power that would have enabled him to do more than act as the chief draftsman and spokesman - a fact which he himself deplored.¹⁷

A balanced consideration of Dr. Ambedkar's role was recently given by S. M. Gaikwad in the influential *Economic and Political Weekly*. In an article entitled "Ambedkar and Indian Nationalism" he is highly critical of Arun Shourie's scathing denunciation of Ambedkar¹⁸ and evaluates Ambedkar's Constitutional work this way:

Preparing the Constitution of a vast and divergent nation like India was a stupendous task, involving collective efforts of many varied talents. No single person can be considered as its sole creator. However, Shourie's characterisation of Ambedkar as the rapporteur of the constituent assembly is grossly unfair, unjust and mean. For he was one of the very few who were entrusted the task of not merely codifying the decisions made by the constituent assembly but, also of deciding carefully whether a particular legal framework being proposed was operationally good enough to allow the realisation of the intended political goal without entailing any other problems, and to propose, if necessary, alternative proposals for the consideration of the constituent assembly. This was undoubtedly very important work for which Ambedkar and a few others like Sir Alladi Krishnaswami Ayyar deserve our gratitude. Besides his role in piloting the draft constitution successfully through the constituent assembly was undisputedly pre-eminent.¹⁹

D. C. Ahir's careful study of the participation of Dr. Ambedkar under the headings of The Preamble, India as a Union of States, Fundamental Rights, Directive Principles, The President and the Prime Minister, The Parliament, The Judiciary, The States, Elections, A Strong Centre, Safeguards for the Scheduled Castes, and the Amendment provision, makes few judgments. His little book, however, is designed to highlight Ambedkar's important role and to demonstrate that "but for him it would not have been possible for the Constituent Assembly to achieve what it achieved."²⁰

Ambedkar's View of His Role In the Making of the Constitution

Ambedkar's view of his role varied according to his mood, perhaps his illness, and perhaps in view of what was happening in the country. In some of his statements, he is exceptionally modest, as when he said in one of the final sessions of the Constituent Assembly:

The credit that is given to me does not really belong to me. It belongs partly to Sir B. N. Rau, the Constitutional Adviser to the Constituent Assembly who prepared a rough draft of the Constitution for the consideration of the Drafting Committee. A part of the credit must go to the members of the Drafting Committee who have sat for 141 days and without whose ingenuity to devise new formulae and capacity to tolerate and to accommodate different points of view, the task of framing the Constitution could not have come to so successful a conclusion. Much greater share of the credit must go to Mr. S. N. Mukherjee, the Chief Draftsman of the Constitution.²¹

This was not Ambedkar's only view of his role. In 1954, according to the *Times of India* of July 3, he said he was "only a hack" in the preparation of the Constitution.²² Less than a year later, within a year of his death on December 6, 1956, however, he told the Rajya Sabha, "The Constitution was a wonderful temple we built for the gods but before they could be installed the devils have taken possession."²³

There is an even more mythic element in the role of Dr. Ambedkar, beyond his skilful guiding of the Constitution draft through a contentious group from varied backgrounds in India. He hinted at this when he told M. O. Mathai:

The Hindus wanted the Vedas and they sent for Vyasa who was not a caste Hindu.

The Hindus wanted an Epic and they sent for Valmiki who was an Untouchable.

The Hindus wanted a Constitution, and they sent for me."²⁴

It is this - the mythic quality of Ambedkar's "writing" the Constitution of India as the modern Manu - plus the sense of gratitude for his securing rights and privileges for the Scheduled Castes which is most important for the great mass of his followers. This sense of great glory in Ambedkar's role may best be illustrated by the fact that his political party, the Scheduled Castes Federation, gave him a golden replica of the Constitution in 1950.²⁵ Ambedkar's role guards against feelings of inferiority, it gives a place for Dalits in the creation of the nation, it allows pride in one of their own and

hence themselves.²⁶

The Battle against Revision

This makes it understandable that today's Dalits are very critical of the idea of a revision of the Constitution as well as the belief that it is only the "Brahmanical" BJP which has promoted a revision. A review of a few of the many pamphlets that have been published to protest a constitutional review illustrates the feeling that Ambedkar's accomplishment is denigrated and the fear that the reservations so important still to Dalits may be taken away. Some go so far as to predict that changes of the sort proposed will mean that that Manu, the classical Brahman lawgiver, will come to reign again.

The voices raised to protest the review include, of course, many non-Dalits. V. P. Singh, former Prime Minister, spoke to a rally of Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe organizations in December, 2000, together with Communist leaders Harkishan Singh Surjeet and D. Raja and the Congress leader Buta Singh.²⁷ The Bahujan Samaj Party also held big rallies in December, calling the review an attempt by the "Manuwadi parties" (a play on the name of the orthodox lawgiver Manu) to keep Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and the Backward Classes out of power.²⁸

Of all Dalit comments, perhaps that of the President of India is the most telling. K. R. Narayanan criticized the idea of changing the Constitution to allow fixed terms for Parliament, warning that the "governance of this vast country (is) not to be left in the hands of the elite class, but the people as a whole." He warned against experiments with an indirect system of elections and guided democracy such as those which brought military rule to Pakistan.²⁹ Narayanan also asked whether it was the "Constitution that has failed us, or whether it is we who have failed the Constitution." And he quoted Ambedkar: (The Constitution) "is workable, it is flexible and it is strong enough to hold the country together both in peace and in war time. Indeed, if I may say so, if things go wrong under the new Constitution the reason will not be that we had a bad Constitution. What we will have to say is that Man is vile."³⁰

A review of some of the pamphlet material illustrates great depth of feeling and widespread interest. *Constitution's Review: A Conspiracy*, published by the All India Federation of Scheduled Castes/Tribes, Backwards and Minorities Employees' Welfare Associations and edited by R. Sangeetha Rao and R. D. Nimesh, contains papers given at a seminar on the Review of the Constitution on the 4th of July, 1998 in New Delhi. There is a strong expression of distrust in the Preface, which notes that the BJP led Government has advocated the replacement of Parliamentary Democracy by the Presidential system. "The intention behind this move is only to install a Brahminvadi or Manuvadi President

in the Chair of President of India" (Page v).

Constitution-Review and Dis-Empowerment of the Bahujan by Swapan K. Biswas was published in Delhi on behalf of the Dalit Bahujan Intellectual Forum of India by Shri Tulsi Ram in 2000 and marketed by Orion Books in Calcutta. Biswas fears the review is really a "Counter-Revolution" to reverse the gaining of some power by the "Dalit Bahujan", the ex-Untouchables and the Backward castes.

Constitution and the Coup D'Etat by Bojja Tharakam (Hyderabad: Janapada Prachuranalu, 2000) is carefully reasoned but very harsh in its judgments on the men of the Committee named to review the Constitution and the intention of the BJP. It begins:

The yagna has begun, the Agnihotram is laid, and the conch is blown. The chief purohit Sri M. N. Venkatachalaiah followed by the ten newly conscripted "pundits" has begun chanting mantras. The game plan of the Bharatiya Janata Party (for short BJP) to consign the Constitution to Holy flames has been assiduously taken up by the eleven zealots.

Do We Need a Constitutional Review ? by P. D. Mathew, S. J. was published by the Indian Social Institute in New Delhi in 2000 as part of their legal education series and is a scholarly production. Mathew delineates both the views of the pro reviewers and the "Opinions Against the Review," beginning with comments by President K. R. Narayanan and V. P. Singh. He accuses those who want a review of wanting to de-secularize the nation and sees the review proposals as a Hindutva agenda.

Bahujan Samaj Party leaders Mayawati and Kanshiram in numerous news releases have accused the Vajpayee government of reviewing the Constitution "only to ensure the survival of minority governments" in future. The rally held by the BSP was held on a significant date: December 6 is the anniversary of the death of Dr. Ambedkar.³¹

Conclusion

An editorial against a review of the Constitution evaluates it this way:

The Constitution is not a passive expression of existing practices, but an exhortation to create new values... It uniquely combines national unity, democracy and progressive social change. It is imbued with an enlightened vision. Its "spirit" matters as much as its "letter."

The Constitution has survived 70 amendments (one for every nine months) without losing its unique identity, character or basic

structure. Indeed, it is India's most egalitarian, forward-looking, consensually produced, text. Despite the many frailties of our legal system and the discrediting of the political leadership, the spirit of the Constitution has endured.³²

It is impossible to say how much of this is due to Dr. Ambedkar. Certainly the emphasis on "progressive social change" owes much to his urging. It is clear from reading the debates that his guidance was essential to the creation of consensus. His lifelong commitment to democracy meant that he did not stress some of his earlier socialist and separatist ideas in the belief that India could resolve its economic problems in a democratic way. So at the least the provisions for social change, the achievement of consensus, and the consistent commitment to parliamentary democracy can be credited, we feel, to Ambedkar.

The fact that a Dalit was chosen to guide the creation of a constitution in the euphoric days just before Independence must be given significance as recognition of India's hopes for justice. True, Ambedkar was probably the most highly educated man in India at the time with an M. A. and Ph. D. from Columbia University, a D. Sc. from London and the achievement of the designation of Barrister from Grey's Inn.³³ Nevertheless he was an Untouchable, and he had quarrelled with Gandhi and the Congress over the rights of Untouchables. The Constitution secured benefits for the Scheduled Castes above and beyond the provisions left by the British government, and the result has been a highly educated critical mass of what are now ex-Untouchables, Dalits. It must be seen that India's commitment and Ambedkar's achievement are related to the fact that another Dalit, fifty years later, was chosen to be President of India. It may have been a token gesture, but K. R. Narayanan has become an outspoken, articulate and rational voice against a review of the Constitution and on other matters. In many ways he is proof of the success of the Constitution's provisions for social change.

Notes and References

1. Dalit is now the most accepted word for describing the Scheduled Castes or Untouchables, the oppressed of Indian society, replacing Gandhi's word "Harijans", people of God. It is a self-chosen word which obtained widespread currency in the 1970's with the Dalit Panther and Dalit Sahitya (literature) movements. Some anti-Ambedkar Scheduled Castes and some of the Buddhist middle-class find it objectionable, but it is now in common usage.
2. *Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar : Writings and Speeches* Vol. 13, (hereafter *Writings and Speeches*), edited by Vasant Moon. Bombay : Education Department, Government of Maharashtra, 1994.
3. *Writings and Speeches*, page 5, editorial introduction to the section "Resolution

regarding Aims and Objects."

4. *Writings and Speeches*, page 26.
5. See my "Gandhi and Ambedkar", in *From Untouchable to Dalit: Essays on the Ambedkar Movement*. New Delhi: Manohar, 3rd edition 2001 (1992).
6. Arun Shourie, *Worshipping False Gods: Ambedkar, and the facts which have been erased*. New Delhi: Harper Collins, 1998.
7. S. M. Gaikwad, "Ambedkar and Indian Nationalism" in the *Economic and Political Weekly* XXXIII: 10 (March 7, 1998) : 518.
8. Speech to the All India Scheduled Caste Federation held in Bombay on May 6, 1945, later privately printed as *Communal deadlock and a way to solve it*.
9. *States and Minorities*. Bombay : C. Murphy for Thacker, 1947. Kusum Sharma has written a book on Ambedkar's pre-Constituent Assembly thoughts and actions in *Ambedkar and Indian Constitution*. New Delhi: Ashish Publishing House, 1992.
10. *Writings and Speeches*.
11. Granville Austin, *The Indian Constitution : Cornerstone of a Nation*. Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1966. Austin does not specifically evaluate Ambedkar's contribution, but he notes the two "wholly Indian concepts, consensus and accommodation" applied to the task of creation (page 310), and quotes Ambedkar: "the only new things, if there can be any, in a constitution formed so late in the day are the variations made to remove the faults (of its antecedents) and so accommodate it to the needs of the country." *CAD* VII, I, 37, quoted on page 321.
12. *Writings and Speeches*, pages 8 and 9.
13. Government of Bombay, *Report of the Depressed Classes and Aboriginal Tribes Committee, Bombay Presidency*. Bombay: Government Central Press, 1930. Chaired by O.H.B. Starte.
14. *Writings and Speeches*, page 326.
15. Granville Austin, *op. cit.* p. 314.
16. Foreword by R. D. Bhandare to D. C. Ahir, *Dr. Ambedkar and Indian Constitution*. Delhi : Low Price Publications, 2nd edition, 1997.
17. Herman Kulke and Dietmar Rothermund. *A History of India*. Totowa: Barnes and Noble Books, 1986, page 315.
18. Arun Shourie, *op. cit.*
19. S. M. Gaikwad., *op. cit.*
20. Ahir, *op. cit.*, page 13.
21. 25th November. *Writings and Speeches*, pp 1208-1209.
22. This quotation is used frequently but is not Ambedkar's chief evaluation of his work.
23. FFP.T.I. News Service, March 20, 1955.

24. M. O. Mathai, *Reminiscences of the Nehru Age*. New Delhi: Vikas, 1982: page 25.
25. P.T.I. News Service. March 20, 1955.
26. There is at least one counter voice to this interpretation of Ambedkar's role. A Dalit Marxist, Anand Teltumbde, finds the appointment of Ambedkar a ploy to bring Dalits into the acceptance of the ruling classes' plans. "There was certainly (an) element of strategy in making Ambedkar the chairman of the drafting committee for the Indian Constitution. It is said that it was done at the instance of none other than Mahatma Gandhi. For Gandhi - the super-strategist of the Congress, the Poona Pact with which he effectively blocked the political voice of dalits within the parliamentary framework, it was necessary to commit them to the latter for a long period. Could there be a better method to achieve this than getting Ambedkar - the undisputed leader of dalits, who had come to regard him as their Messiah, to author the Constitution ! It is a tribute to Gandhi's farsightedness and cunning that he prompted Nehru to make it happen. Gandhi and Nehru knew that the composition of the Constituent Assembly, surfeit with representation of the propertied classes by design, provided enough fortification not to let Ambedkar's ideology penetrate the Constitutional draft. But, at the same time, Ambedkar could be eulogized as its maker... (This) won the dalit commitment to the Constitution; it projected a progressive face of the Indian ruling class to the world and planted false consciousness among dalits." *Ambedkar in and for the Post-Ambedkar Dalit Movement*. Pune : Sugawa Prakashan, 1997 : page 9.
27. "The Hindu," December 12, 2000.
28. "The Hindu," December 6, 2000.
29. *India Abroad*. February 2, 2001. For a lengthy review, see *Frontline* : 18 : 3 (February 3-16, 2001)s.
30. *India Abroad*, February 4, 2000, page 22.
31. *Times of India*, December 7, 2000, from the Internet : www.ambedkar.org.
32. Praful Bidwai in *India Abroad*, February 28, 2000, page 2.
33. This extraordinary achievement of Ambedkar was due to his family's commitment to his education, financial help from various non-Brahman princes, and his own determination.

REVIEWS

MYTHS FROM THE MAHĀBHĀRATA, Vol. 2, *Study in Patterns and Symbols*, SADASHIV AMBADAS DANGE, 2001, pp. xxxii + 290, Rs. 700; and Vol. 3, *Probe in Early Dim History and Folklore*, 2002, pp. xxxiv + 266, Rs. 650, Aryan Books International, New Delhi.

Dr. Sadashiv A. Dange, an internationally renowned scholar on Vedic Studies, has displayed his versatile scholarship by his intensive and well-acclaimed studies of the Epics and Purāṇas. The Vedic myths seem to have provided him with a framework for the understanding and analysis of mythology in later Sanskrit literature. The 'quest for immortality' has been a popular theme in many mythologies and this became the theme for Dange's first volume of his trilogy entitled, *Myths from the Mahābhārata*, while Volumes Two and Three were his final gift to the scholarly world before he left for his heavenly abode. The 650 handwritten pages have been prepared for publication by Dr. Mrs. Sindhu S. Dange, the heiress to his scholarly legacy.

Studies and research filled every day of the life of Dange. It is not that this Vedic scholar was turning his attention to the study of the *Mahābhārata* for the first time. An earlier attempt had resulted in the publication of a handy volume in 1969 entitled : *Legends in the Mahābhārata*. With the growth in wisdom and experience over the years, the *Mahābhārata* had to be studied anew. The resultant *Myths from the Mahābhārata* is thus a new and deeper understanding of the history and traditions that have been preserved for posterity in this *Itihāsa*. Scholars have indeed acknowledged that alongside the ritual Vedic *mantras*, there flourished the Vedic secular literature, comprising historical narratives, poetic ballads, eulogies of the king, etc., preserved by the *Sūtas*, who were chroniclers, as also composers, considered the earliest Indian historians.

The sub-title of Volume Two - *Study in Patterns and Symbols* - suggests that Dange rightly understood the term 'myth' to signify a symbolic story or a legend that attempts to convey a universal truth or a historical reality or a divine/human mystery that cannot be adequately expressed in descriptive language. There are two main sections - myths dealing with various kinds of 'tests' and myths woven around the motif of 'supranormal births.' The introduction by Dr. Mrs. Dange - "At the Itihāsa (Iti-ha-āsa) Cave" - is excellent and must be read thoroughly for it provides a proper framework with valuable insights for a better understanding of the myths analyzed by Dange.

Students in every training programme are subjected to "tests" or experiments to evaluate their suitability for the way of life they are aspiring to. Seven types of tests have been presented with a couple of myths studied under each type. Leaving aside the well-known legends of the *Mahābhārata*, Dange ventures into mythical accounts that are not easy to understand - like awkward "tests" and "supranormal births" - which he analyzes intelligently and expertly - revealing their inner message and meaning. These tests may not have been in practice during the age of the *Mahābhārata* but the narrator was probably recounting, for the education of his audience, the tests that the Upaniṣadic sages put to their aspiring disciples who were seeking *Vidyā* - to test their sincerity, their perseverance, their endurance in the austere life of the hermitage.

While some tests of Studentship had been seen in Volume One, in the context of the desire for immortality, the desire to win the favour of the Guru is the context of the tests in Volume Two. Upamanyu was severely tested on obedience to his Guru. Veda was yoked to the pole of the cart like a bullock - this yoke-torture motif appears in various contexts. Veda himself is said to have had no desire to impose physical torture on his own disciples but did he perhaps resort to a moral testing of his disciple Uttanka with the collaboration of his wife? Could the myth of the fire-emitting horse be a symbolic expression of the assimilation of non-Vedic tribes into the Vedic fire cult? Dange examines all such strange narrations. He raises the right questions, which he then attempts to respond to in a sincere manner- even though discovering solutions may not always be easy.

Mythical accounts of "tests" or "feats" have preserved many social, moral and ritual customs of an ancient period of history. Some myths praise the fiery power of the brāhmaṇa, the generosity of the King and his wife, the hospitality of a Householder and his wife, the intellectual ability of a righteous person and so on. The pattern seems the same - a persevering encounter with a "test", involving severe hardship with danger of death leading to acquittal and gifts and a new life.

Myths revealing supranormal human births have been collated by Dange - births from symbolic wombs, artificially inseminated, births from fluids or parts of one's body, births from foetuses delayed or divided, and so on. Dange analyses the mixture of motifs and shows how the myths lead to a deeper revelation of the person born, relating him to a divine or supra-mortal source, elevating the person to his true dignity.

While, in Volume Two, many myths are utilized to reveal the divine origin of persons to establish them in a well-known dynastic lineage, the myths in Volume Three are analyzed to discover facts and events of the past that could be accepted as *itihāsa* records, traditional lore with a factual core.

Volume Three has very appropriately been divided into four sections - Myths in Dim History - when supposedly supra-mortals lived and interacted on this earth - followed by Myths and Early History. The third section treats of myths that speak of Metamorphosis, followed by a section of Miscellaneous Tales and Mythical 'Caps' including Didactic Tales. The scholarly introduction by Dr. Mrs. Dange suitably entitled, "Open Sesame to the Itihāsa-Cave", can be compared to the interpretative composition of the *Sūta*, who is acknowledged as the final editor of the *Mahābhārata*.

Important "historical" events seem to be repeated in sacred and secular texts with progressive re-interpretations. The historical value of these records has to be gleaned from a shifting of the mythological details, which act as a beautiful embroidery on the original cloth. Many myths gathered around the name of the Ṛgvedic Agastya, whose exploits seem to contain many an historical event of the dim past. Agastya eating and digesting Vātāpi (a wealthy southern derson) could signify the assimilation of important non-Vedic cults into the Vedic ritual. Traversing and subduing the inaccessible Vindhya mountain could stand for the movement of peoples and Vedic rituals to the south possibly due to changes in the terrain. Agastya drinking the water of the ocean could signify geographical changes, which later brought the waters of the Gaṅgā to the eastern region. Dange's wide scholarship is evident in his cross-references to other similar myths for a deeper understanding of the purpose and message of the composer. Dange analyzes the influence of the myth of Sāvitrī-Satyavat on the myth of Tapatī, which in turn could be a reflection of the Sūryā-Soma marriage, with some similarity to a myth among the Tsimshian Indians of North America.

Functional myths serve a definite purpose of explaining names of places, mountains, rivers, etc. while myths of water-metamorphosis reveal a different form of the main character. Among the Pāṇdavās, Bhīma is given the 'cap' of a typical hero who is associated with various exploits to enhance his personality. Didactic Tales praise various virtues - *dharma* - *dāna* - avoidance of greed - practice of right friendship - and so on - while they display similarity with the Jātaka-tales, the *Pañcatantra*, the *Hitopadeśa* and folk-tales from other lands. To facilitate and corroborate his interpretations of the myths, Dange freely draws upon non-Indian sources, Greek mythology, etc. with which he is familiar. Miscellaneous Tales have their counterparts in other literatures and Dange has placed a "List of Parallel Tales" in an Appendix for the benefit of his readers. Naturally, Dange's books require careful reading to benefit from the richness of knowledge packed into every section.

Dange's extensive and intensive research has revealed that various historical, geographical, social and political events have been skillfully embedded in the mythical compositions, with changing relationships between the Vedic Aryan

clan and other social groups in the south and east and west of this subcontinent. Already from very ancient times there has been an assimilation of social and moral customs, a fusion of Vedic and non-Vedic cults, a cross-fertilization of social and religious identities leading sometimes to conflicts both among deities and mortals, resulting in a new socio-religious-political harmony. The myths reveal the assimilation of various peoples who got integrated to form a larger Indian society. Dange convincingly illustrates that the myths of the *Mahābhārata* strikingly exhibit the various levels of assimilation and integration that was giving rise to a multireligious, pluri-cultural society in India already during that period.

Volumes Two and Three are complete in themselves, each with its own Introduction, its interesting and enlightening appendices, a useful Bibliography inviting scholars to a deeper study and analysis of myths, and a detailed index for ready reference. Dange's writings are a priceless legacy. India needs sincere scholars like Dange to guide her varieties of peoples to understand and preserve the rich diversity of our Indian heritage, unfolded in the *Mahābhārata* of old, unfolding in mahā Bhārata, the growing Bhārata of today.

Aubrey A. Mascarenhas

ŚĀṆKARA VEDĀNTA-MĀM AVIDYĀ-VICĀRA, (*Concept of Avidyā : Śāṅkara Vedānta*), NAGIN J. SHAH, (Sanskrit-Sanskriti Granthamala 9, 2001). Price not mentioned.

Many in the world of scholars were wondering as to why Dr. Nagin J. Shah, who has made a thorough study of the different systems of Indian philosophy and written useful books on the different *darśanas* as well as problems pertaining to Indian philosophy, had not written anything on Vedānta, especially Kevalādvaita Vedānta, except for a few stray remarks here and there. Perhaps, this struck Dr. Shah also, and the result is this book - *Śāṅkara Vedānta māṁ Avidyā-vicāra*. I, in fact, was very happy to see this book, as my Ph. D. Thesis was on 'Avidyā and Cognate Concepts in Vedic, Buddhist and Jaina Darśanas' - printed as 'Avidyā - A Problem of Truth and Reality.' Luckily, Dr. Shah's book starts where I left off.

Vyāsa Tīrtha (15th cent.) of the Madhva school of Vedānta has in his excellent work *Nyāyāmṛta*, refuted the doctrines of Kevalādvaita Vedānta, and especially the concept of Avidyā in a very critical and even fascinating manner. As a retort to this, Madhusūdana Sarasvatī (16th cent.) wrote his *Advaita Siddhi* to counter-refute the arguments of Vyāsātīrtha. This work of Dr. Shah's

is based mainly on the *Nyāyāmṛta* and the *Advaita-siddhi*, in his treatment of the definitions of Avidyā and the means of proof for Avidyā. Dr. Shah has selected *Nyāyāmṛta* and *Nyāyāmṛtataraṅgiṇī* to base his arguments on for the *pūrvapakṣa* and *Advaita-siddhi*, *Laghu-candrikā* and *Advaitadīpikā* for the *Siddhānta-pakṣa* and thus fully analysed the concept of Avidyā in the Kevalādvaita Vedānta, as also the reactions on the other schools of Vedānta. These works have used the Navya-nyāya technique of dialectics, and therefore, the expressions are very precise, and the meaning is conveyed in a very subtle manner leaving hardly any scope for a loop-hole in the discussion. Of course, as a result the work has become quite tough and can be understood only if one concentrates on every word and line.

Dr. Shah has in his Introduction given a good account of how the scholars and philosophers of Europe came to know and appreciate the concepts of Advaita Vedānta and were very much impressed by them. This account of his is, as he says, based on 'India and Europe : An Essay in Philosophical Understanding' by Wilhelm Halbfass, the Gujarati and Hindi translation of which Dr. Shah has decided to publish in his Sanskrit-Sanskriti Granthamala.

Vyāsātīrtha has refuted in his *Nyāyāmṛta* three definitions of Avidyā - (i) That which being beginningless is positive and yet destructible by knowledge is Avidyā; (ii) That which is the material cause of illusion is Avidyā; (iii) That which is directly destructible by knowledge as knowledgeness is Avidyā. In the first chapter, the first definition of Avidyā is discussed keeping in view the three-fold manner in which the definition is shown by opponents to be too narrow, and also the refutation based on the definition being too wide and impossible. Dr. Shah's treatment is very extensive and he gives at length the arguments in refutation as found in the *Nyāyāmṛta* and the *Nyāyāmṛta-taraṅgiṇī* and the counter refutation in *Advaita-siddhi*, *Laghu-candrikā* and *Advaita-dīpikā*. He has time and again taken note of the views of Nṛsīṃhāśrama as found in his *Advaita-dīpikā*. These views hold allegiance to the Vivaraṇa sub-school of Kevalādvaita Vedānta. Ch. 2 pertains to the second and third definitions of Avidyā. Ch. 3 deals with the first type of sāksi-pratyakṣa (Witness - perception) establishing the positive nature of Avidyā, and Ch. 4 with the refutation of prāg-abhāva. Chapters 5 and 6 again treat the second and third types of sāksi-pratyakṣa establishing Avidyā, positive in character. Dr. Shah has explained what the concept of *sāksin* means to different thinkers. Ch. 7 deals with suṣupti (deep sleep) as treated in the *Siddhānta-bindu* of Madhusūdana Sarasvatī and its commentary by Brāhmānanda Sarasvatī. The topics of Ch. 4 and Ch. 7 are intimately connected with the concept of Avidyā, so it is quite justifiable that Dr. Shah should have treated them here. In the Appendix we find the passage from the *Nyāyā-maṅjarī* of Jayanta Bhaṭṭa which refutes the concept of Avidyā, and also its translation.

Dr. Shah has rendered valuable service by giving a very accurate account of the refutation and counter refutation of Avidyā as found in the works of Madhva Vedānta and Kevalādvaita Vedānta and thus facilitated much clarification regarding the concept as understood by the Kevalādvaitins. The outstanding aspect of this treatment is that the arguments in the *pūrvapakṣa* seem to be every convincing, but when we come to the counter refutation, the arguments appeal to us as even more convincing, and this impression is repeated every time we ponder over each refutation and counter-refutation. The reader is wonder-struck as to how the Ācāryas could use their dialectical skill so well. The serious reader is fascinated and spell-bound, and at the same time quite enlightened on the topic.

We are thankful to Dr. Shah for giving us this book with such rich material. When he has taken such pain to thoroughly thrash the problem of Avidyā in all its aspects, we would request him to write a book in English on the same lines so that it could be read by scholars all over the world.

Esther A. Solomon

PUNCH-MARKED COINS OF EARLY HISTORIC INDIA, DILIP RAJGOR, Reesha Books International, California, 2001, pp. 221, pls. 16, U. S. \$70.

This book covers 200 years of numismatic history of early India. The period covered in this monograph ranges from the rise of the Janapadas in c. 600 to the rise of the Shishunagas in c. 400 BCE.

Although P. L. Gupta, A. K. Narain and Lallanji Gopal suggested c. 800 BCE as the possible date of the origin of coins in India, archaeological evidence suggested by S. C. Ray would place the punch-marked coins in sixth century BCE at the earliest.

Various monarchical and republican Janapadas issued punch-marked coins. They bear various symbols punched on their face. These pictographs had political, social and economic significance.

The author has studied 10,000 punch-marked coins and 66 coin-hoards and catalogued 1288 coins in electrum, silver and copper. All these coins are classified into 83 coin series which are assigned to 17 Janapadas. Thirty coin-hoards are recorded for the first time. The monograph is classified into 12 parts consisting of 21 chapters comprising of location of Janapadas, their historical outline and coin-hoards known from that region. Furthermore,

two appendices enlist modern forgeries and an Index of main symbols includes 625 specimens. Three maps of India show i) Sixteen Mahājanapadas of Buddhist Literature, c. 550 BCE, ii) Distribution of punch-marked coin-hoards in Indian subcontinent, iii) Janapadas to whom coins are assigned, c. 600-300 BCE. The Identification Guide helps coin collectors and an exhaustive Bibliography is helpful for further studies. 16 plates illustrate 289 coins.

This book is an outcome of the author's extensive tour during 1992-95 covering various coin collectors and institutions. The author examined coins from various states such as Andhra Pradesh, Bengal, Bihar, Gujarat, Haryana, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Orissa, Uttar Pradesh, Nepal and North West India.

Dr. Shailendra Bhandare has painstakingly drawn the symbol for this monograph.

This is the first comprehensive monograph on lesser-known punch-marked coins of early historic India. The book contains more illustrations than the written words and is a good guide book for detecting the region and date of the punch-marked coins. I really congratulate the author for bringing out such a useful publication.

B. V. Shetti

LOKAPRAJÑĀPTI - A CRITICAL EXPOSITION OF BUDDHIST COSMOLOGY, K. SANKARANARAYAN, KAZUNOBU MATSUDA, MOTOHIRO YORITOMI, Somaiya Publications, 2002, pp. XVI + 375, Rs. 600.

Recently, seven palm-leaf folios in Śāradā script were found in Buddhist temples of Kansai District of Japan. Scholars are unanimous that the contents of the folios deal with Buddhist cosmology. Prof. Matsuda Kazunobu - one of the authors of the present work - has identified these folios as part of the Prajñāpti Śāstra of Śaḍpāda of Sarvāstivāda. The first part is a learned introduction to the folios. It comprises the texts in Devanāgarī script, translations and authors' brief comments. This is followed by newly identified Sanskrit fragments of the Dharma Skandha in the Gilgit manuscripts. The contents of Part I are clearly for intensive study by specialists. But the cosmological discussions of Part II are of great interest to all thoughtful, educated persons, particularly students of Buddhism. A very welcome feature of the book is the treatment of Buddhist and pre-Buddhist views on the subject, not as museum pieces, but as a theme of living interest.

The first chapter of Part II is a preliminary discussion of cosmology and cosmogony. After a brief discussion of the different meanings of the word 'world' it is pointed out that the term may be used to designate the most comprehensive astronomical system of all, the world as a whole. The preferred astronomical concept is the 'Universe' (p. 26). Cosmologists and writers of the present work are naturally concerned with the world in the last sense. The attempt to understand the origin of the world and trace the broad stages in its development has been one of the persistent preoccupations of man from the earliest cultures to the present day. The authors correctly point out that this endeavour has been inspired by two motives : The first is the desire to understand, a sense of wonder and curiosity about the world in which we live. The second derives from the human need to 'situate' the life of human beings in the 'Universe' (p. 28). It is generally believed that if we succeed in discovering the 'building blocks' and the compositional structure of the world, we shall be in a position to answer questions about human destiny and draw important conclusions about the broad goals of human life. Equally, our discipline can be pursued by different methods. The method or methods used by the higher religions of the world are, speculation, poetic fancy, myth making, which may also be regarded as primitive science or proto-science.

A large part of this book gives a very scholarly and methodical account of cosmologies in the Vedic and Buddhist traditions. But there is also the method of science which is based on experience; systemic observation and the construction and verification of bold hypotheses and working models characterize mathematical astronomy today. It has built up, through patient labour, a body of knowledge which is reliable if not absolutely certain. No religious or non-religious view of the cosmos can today defy this body of knowledge. But then mathematical astronomy takes the physical world as autonomous and gives only a broad account of the most general features of the world. Consistently with what is ascertained by science - physics, biology, physiology - religious or spiritual *weltanschauungs* can be fitted into this broad picture.

The introductory remarks on cosmology are followed by two brief sections on 'Cosmic Law and Vedic Religion' and 'Cosmic Law and Buddhism'. They deal with the all-important concepts '*ṛta*' and '*dharma*' which naturally occupy a prominent place in subsequent discussion. The second chapter discusses pre-Buddhist cosmology in the Vedas (Sāmhītās), Brāhmaṇas, Upaniṣads and Purāṇas. The third chapter is on Lokaprajñapti and traces its development from Theravada, Vasubandhu's Pre-Mahāyāna, through Mādhyamika regarded as provisional Mahāyāna, to later thought in the Far East regarded as 'true Mahāyāna.' Ch. 4 discusses Cosmos and Saha-world cosmology. The chapters that follow discuss skandhas, doctrine of *Kuśala* and *Akuśala Karma*, Hell

(Niraya), Heaven Sumeru (Akanisṭha) and Transmigration and Rebirth. A brief epilogue concludes the book. Chs. 5 to 9 deal with what may be called philosophical anthropology, pre-Buddhist and Buddhist. It may cause some surprise that these discussions should form part of a work on cosmology. In our day Stephen Hawking, Carl Sagan and Jayant Narlikar have all written excellent books on cosmology for the layman. The writers refer to John Wheeler. None of these discusses the topics of the concluding chapters, apart from, may be, an occasional reference to emergence of life and biological evolution. But in my opinion, it is quite right to discuss these questions on human destiny in a book on Vedic and Buddhist cosmology. These ancient teachers and philosophers themselves made these questions central to their speculations and no account of cosmology can be complete which leaves them out.

It is not necessary to summarize the contents - particularly the soteriological and eschatological accounts of Chs. 7 & 8. A contemporary reader—even a believer—will regard these as the most fanciful and requiring psychological and moral reinterpretation. But Chs. 2,3,5 and 9 contain points of great philosophical interest and invite wider discussion. So far as the descriptive accounts are concerned a few general features are worth noticing.

1. They all follow the same broad pattern of tracing, the development of ideas from the pre-Buddhist phase—further subdivided as mentioned above—through the various phases of Buddhism again further subdivided as indicated above.
2. It will be seen that in many cases, Buddhism made revolutionary changes, while retaining the broad terminology and frame-work of a pre-Buddhist period. The changes are always in the direction of a less anthropomorphic, more empirical, more liberal and egalitarian interpretation. Nowhere is this more evident than in the case of causality and the cosmic law (*ṛta, dharma*). The Vedic seers declared that all things physical phenomena, animals, men, even gods are governed by law, though gods are said to be guardians of *ṛta*, particularly Varuṇa. But statements like “For fear of him, the fire burns, for fear of him the wind blows” show that natural laws are sometimes treated as commandments. For Buddhism the whole system of nature is governed by the principle of *pratītya-samutpāda*. The relation of cause and effect is stated in purely logical terms - given the cause, the effect arises; if the cause is not given, the effect does not arise. More simply, the cause is the necessary and sufficient condition of the effect. This is well expressed by the authors. “Every natural law merely describes the conditions on which a particular change is dependent; a body falls to the ground not in consequence of the law of gravitation, but the law of gravitation is the precise statement of what happens when a body is left unsupported. A law of nature does not command that something shall

take place, but it merely states how something happens (p. 75). This is admirable though the last quoted sentence should be followed by the phrase 'always under certain conditions', to bring out the universal character of a natural law.

3. This does not mean that the connection between the moral and natural aspects of the law is absent in Buddhism. The two meet in the concept of *Karma* and the way it is worked out in our life - indeed in a series of lives. How this happens is not always clear. What happens to us is the result of natural, physical, biological, psychological and social conditions. At the same time it is morally fitting and we meet with our just deserts. In this respect the Upaniṣadic and Buddhist traditions have more in common than the authors allow. The Saṁhitās, Brāhmaṇas and even the early Upaniṣads tend to equate right conduct with ritual piety but in later Upaniṣads, the Gītā and even some Purāṇas, self-restraint, purity of heart, cultivation of compassion (*adveṣṭā sarva bhūtānām* etc.) are the *sine qua non* of salvation. The great merit of Buddhism and Jainism, especially the former, was that they swept away meaningless ritual and emphasis on esoteric knowledge. But apart from the role played by these heterodox religions of India, there was also an inner inspiration towards a more inward and truly spiritual religion. It is needless to add that, as Buddhism developed and spread all over the world, some sects developed blind reliance of ritual and repetition of set formulas. A great deal of the exposition of Buddhist cosmology involves *pralīya-samutpāda* and certain lines of philosophical analysis. This is very well done in Ch. 3, which also summarizes Buddhist arguments against the existence of God as the first cause, culled together from authoritative scriptures. If the Buddha's teaching has been accurately reported, here there is a remarkable anticipation of the pattern of anti-theistic arguments in the east as well as the west. But rejecting the Absolute as a cause is a more tricky affair from the Mahāyāna point of view. The argument of the section applies equally to Mahāyāna view of reality. The statements made about Shenn Shinnyo, particularly that 'whatever exists is evolved from the one Body of Shenn Shinnya's Law-nature by the law of cause and effect and therefore everything is substantially the same', are vulnerable to parallel arguments. In any case, the Absolute in *Advaita Vedānta* does not cause the world by the temporal relation of cause and effect. It is the logical relation of the ground and the consequent to be found in many similar philosophies. I should say, humbly, that the same is true of at least some interpretations of Mahāyāna. The main argument on p. 76 presents no insurmountable difficulty to Gauḍapāda's *Ajātivāda* or the later *Vivartavāda* of Śaṅkara. (The former when accused of being influenced by Buddhists said that there was no shame in borrowing from Buddhists.) This is not surprising for Mahāyāna and *Advaita* are brothers

under the skin. Mahāyāna is the big brother and *Advaita*, of Gaudapāda and Śaṅkara, the little brother. I cannot argue this further here.

Ch. 9 on transmigration and rebirth is of the greatest human interest. Again, the development of ideas is traced methodically and with a wealth of scholarship. We are told that the rich range of Vedic experiences on the subject cannot be reduced to a few features. They have a 'horizontal complexity' because the Śruti concentrates far too wide a range of experiences to admit of over simplifications. The complexity is also vertical because Vedic revelation discloses itself at widely differing levels of human experiences (p. 303). There are also interesting reflections on death as part of life, or limit of life, and even in a sense, as the goal of life. One may not accept every statement but each reader must reflect on the rich material to weave his own thoughts. The Buddhist concept of Rebirth without a transmigrating entity is clearly explained (pp. 325 to 329). (Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar makes a distinction between transmigration and Rebirth in his own way, which has so far been proved unacceptable to any school of Buddhism. It is consistent with rationalistic materialism and, in a way, reinstates *Ucchedavāda* of Buddhist scriptures). It comes out in the course of discussions that *Moksa* or *Nirvāṇa* is not unending enjoyment in some posthumous heaven, but enlightenment which sees things as they are and the resultant destruction of all negative emotions and distractions. The spirit of the entire discussion is reflected in the statement on p. 307. 'It will be preposterous to claim that the Vedic revelation has so clearly disclosed the mystery of the beyond that the only remaining requirement is to listen to it.' Hence the concluding sentence of the chapter : "The Quest continues." The book is excellently produced, but in a book of such complexity there are bound to be misprints. I have noticed a few which are important and may confuse the non-philosophic reader.

- 1) On p. 37, L. 5 from below 'sheer facility' should be 'sheer facticity.'
- 2) P. 69, 'Mahābhārata' should be 'Mahābhūtas.'
- 3) P. 329, Lines 7-8, sentence appears incomplete.
- 4) P. 336, L. 21 'hypothesing' should be 'hypostatizing.'
- 5) P. 75, L. 32 'adopted' should be 'adapted.'
- 6) P. 90, L. 24 'Selfsubstituting' should be 'Selfsubsisting.'
- 7) P. 136, the same word 'shiki' translates both '*rūpa*' and '*vijñāna*.' I do not know whether the same Japanese word has two different meanings.

KALĀTATTVAKOŚĀ, VOL. V, FORM/SPACE, Editor RAMESH CHANDRA SHARMA, Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts, New Delhi, and Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, Delhi, 2002, pp. xxxii + 475, 28 Illustrations, Rs. 1000.

Hindu thought in all fields takes its inspiration from religious intuition which again emanates from a deep understanding of the Vedas and the Vedāṅgas. This implies that art-forms need to be studied against a background of interwoven religious concepts in all their ramifications and indicates that art cannot be studied in isolation, divorced from these concepts as enshrined in the traditional texts.

As one is familiarised with iconometry and aesthetics of art from the works of pioneering stalwarts like Stella Kramrisch, Ananda Coomaraswamy, and others, one welcomes this volume under review which focuses on finer details. Our clarity is enhanced when a few well-defined topics as related to art forms are discussed exhaustively by eminent contributors in the ten chapters of this book.

Bettina Bäumer discusses '*Rekhā*'. We learn certain interesting vignettes that *rekhā* does not form a part of Indian music because we do not confine it to notation; but in dance *rekhā* denotes a particular posture held by the dancer. We know that in the early education of a Hindu child *rekhā*, or *lekhā* was an indispensable part, since it dealt with the alphabet, its reading and writing. R. C. Sharma deals with *Ākāra-Ākṛti*. In this chapter there is the interesting comparison of *ākṛti* with *brahman*, as it is omnipresent, but remains unseen. This is because *ākṛti* is not mentioned explicitly, but its presence is inferred from the discussions of its measurements. Tracing the subtle changes in its meanings in the texts, we learn that though *ākṛti* meant a personality in literature, it denoted good conduct in the Sūtra literature.

R. N. Misra examines '*Rūpa-Pratirūpa*' where we learn that *rūpa* can denote such diverse meanings as colour, words or sounds or perceived creation. It is relevant to point out that *rūpa* dealt with drawing and geometry in a child's early education. P. L. Sharma treats the topic *Bandha-Pratibandha* since without 'binding', 'form' is not possible. P. K. Agarwala discusses four topics in four chapters, *Arcā*, *Mūrti*, *Pratimā-Prakṛti* and *Vigraha*. These four deal with 'form' when it becomes distinct while transformed. We learn that *mūrti* could denote a concrete form or, its manifestation, incarnation, icon, or the deity conceptualised in an icon.

We learn that Jainism philosophises certain terminologies like *pratimā* as the spiritual progress of an aspirant, and *vigraha* as specified for transmigratory souls; *bandha* is explained by illustrations again from Jaina

philosophy.

V. N. Misra deals with *Sakala-Niṣkala*, while R. Nagaswamy and Krishna Deva together discuss *Prāsāda*.

There is a well laid-out format which is followed in the presentation of the topics. In the overview, the first section of a chapter, the association of the subject to the Vedic sources are traced. The variations in its meaning and hence its application are discussed in the literary sources i. e., Sanskrit, Prakrit and Pali texts. The Sanskrit sources not only cover the Epics, but their non-Sanskrit versions as well; and the Dharmasūtras, Purāṇas, Tantras, Āgamas, classical literature, as well as the *śilpa śāstras*. Starting from the etymological meaning of the word, the concept is exhaustively studied in all aspects of its development, bringing the process to a culmination in the concluding part of the chapter, where the author's ideas add a new dimension to our perception on the subject. Over and above the select bibliography at the end of each chapter, there is an exhaustive bibliography appended to the book, which the discerning scholar would find very useful. Since all the chapters deal with the visual arts, the common theme binds these different aspects '*sūtre maṇigaṇā iva*.' As the editor says in his Introduction, this book opens vast vistas for scholars to do further studies on the theme.

Indira S. Aiyar

OUR ETERNAL HERITAGE, UMA S. DESHPANDE, The Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda, Vadodara, 2002, pp. 203. Rs. 248.

Uma Deshpande, retired Professor of the M. S. University of Baroda, has covered a variety of subjects in the twenty research papers published in the book under review.

In the chapter "The Concept of Bhakti in the Seventh Maṇḍala of the Rgveda", she traces the origin of *bhakti* in the hymns to Varuṇa and Indra. She states that the former evokes *dāsya bhakti*, while the latter that of *sakhya bhakti*. In the chapter "Smṛti in the Brahmasūtra", she relies on Madhva's commentary on the *Sūtra* to support her viewpoint that the word '*Smṛti*' in the text refers to the *Bhagavadgītā* and the *Sūtrakāra* has tried to align the *Bhagavadgītā* with the earlier Upaniṣadic text. In "Yāska : the first Indian Etymologist", she appreciates Yāska's efforts at unravelling the morphology and semantics of the Vedic language while contending with the constraints of limited resources and the distance in time.

The author shows a heavy bias towards Sitā in "Brother Versus Brother-in-law", and passes a very harsh judgment on Lakṣmaṇa, disregarding the circumstances that restrain his reactions. In the chapter "Abhinavagupta's Rasa-Theory and His Commentary on the *Bhagavadgītā*", she states that *Sānta rasa* was Abhinavagupta's unique contribution to aesthetics.

Dr. Deshpande's listing of birds and animals mentioned in Classical Sanskrit dramas deserves special praise as she lists different types of the same class of animals or birds. In this same chapter (14), in part B, she gives illuminating insights into the family life, food habits, and the political situation as culled from the Sanskrit dramas. Her tributes to Śrī Pūjālāl (ch. 18), Svāmī Vāsudevānanda (ch. 15), Raṅga Avadhūta (ch.17), and some recent philosophers of Gujarat (ch. 19), all throw light on little known saints and savants of the recent past.

What otherwise would have turned out to be a dry collection of information on various subjects is rendered interesting by the author's insight into and involvement with the topics.

Indira S. Aiyar

ŚĀVITRĪ ŚĀTAKAM, *Sāvitrī Latikākhyayā Svopajña Tikayā Sametam*, JAYADEO JANI (RASARĀJA), Savitri Prakashan Samiti, Arunodaya C-1, Dr. C. S. Patel Enclave, 3 Pratap Ganj, Vadodara, 390002, Gujarat, 2002, pp. 105. Rs. 150, (\$5).

The episode of Sāvitrī is held in high esteem in India. It has been a perennial source of inspiration to the womenfolk of this land. The story is narrated among the elite and the folks as well. The story is traceable to the *Mahābhārata*, *Matsya Purāṇa* and the *Devībhāgavatam* and it lays down the ideal of Indian womanhood.

In his study, Dr. Jayadeo Jani found long and short versions of the story in the *Mahābhārata*, *Matsya Purāṇa* and the *Devībhāgavatam*. Although, the main episode is the same, in the *Mahābhārata*, the expanse of the story is of 297 stanzas. In the *Matsya Purāṇa*, it is 176 stanzas. But in the *Devībhāgavatam* the narration extends to 925 stanzas. The author has critically studied these three texts and has formulated his own version of the narrative that has taken the shape of the present *śatakam*. The author himself has written a *tīkā* titled *Sāvitrī Latikā* on his own poetic composition. He has also provided his own English translation of his Sanskrit narrative.

The author's name Jayadeo and his *nom-de-plume*, Rasarāja, become all the more meaningful when one goes through this narrative poem. A variety of sonorous metres have been used here. The choice of words enhances the sentiment in this long poem.

A word about the Svopajña *īkā*: This *īkā* is not of the traditional type. The words in the text are explained by providing synonyms. Those who are not well versed in Sanskrit would be comfortable with this *īkā*. I cannot help citing a few stanzas from the *śatakam*.

While describing the beauty of Sāvitrī the author says-

तां भ्राजमानां सुपवित्रमूर्तिं धर्मे स्थितां वीक्ष्य नृपालपुत्राः ।
तेजोभिभूतास्तरुणीं स्वभार्या मन्तुं विचारां तरसाऽत्यजस्ते ॥८॥

Princes, looking at her, who was extremely pious and effulgent, as well as of righteous conduct, were dazzled by her lustre and soon gave up the idea of having this beautiful princess as a wife.

At another place, the poet says :

विवाहसंपादनतुष्टचित्तः संमन्त्र्य सम्बधिजनं प्रणामैः ।
मद्राधिपोऽगारमगात् सभार्यः प्रत्यर्पितन्यास इवान्तरात्मा ॥३७॥

Here the use of the phrase, प्रत्यर्पितन्यास इवान्तरात्मा reminds the reader of Kālidāsa. The text of the poem is preceded by an introduction running over 30 pages, which one should read. Here the poet has critically examined the three sources of his narrative. He has also pointed out as to what is new in his narration.

The author of *Sāvitrī Śatakam* is a poet and also a scholar of German. His original *kāvya* is bound to make an impact on Sanskrit readership.

The paper and the printing are of good quality. The book will be a valuable addition to personal and public libraries.

N. B. Patil

CLASSICAL INDIAN PHILOSOPHY, J. N. MOHANTY, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, pp. 180. Rs. 425.

J. N. Mohanty's book, under review, carves out a niche for itself amongst the plethora of publications on Indian philosophy by its unique method of approach to the subject. It is concise, and at the same time clear, and allows easy access to the main theories, their components, the issues that demarcate

the differences between the systems; and these same issues bind the systems together with the common problems.

The first chapter introduces the main systems by tracing their chronological history. The next chapter of Part I, gives a clear expose of the theory of knowledge (*pramāna*). Giving the definition of *pramāna* as "that by which cognition is arrived at", he lists those *pramānas* recognised by various systems. The next chapter of Part II deals with the *padārthas*, translated as categories. He starts the enumeration with Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika, and ends with Vedānta. These two *śāstras*, that is, Navya-Nyāya and Śaṅkara's Vedānta, seem his favoured ones, having studied them deeply with venerable Sanskrit Pandits. He resorts to this method in the two ensuing chapters on the Self and on the central metaphysical issues.

Discussing the identity of *ātman-brahman*, he gives fulsome praise for the Jaina theory of *anekāntavāda* as a model of philosophical liberalism. In spite of certain weaknesses in its philosophy, its logic is, according to the author, one of the finest achievements of the Indian mind. The Jaina theory of *ahimsā* arose due to the proposition that everything possessed sentience though in varying degrees. This extended even to intellectual life as according to their logic of *syād vāda* there was a moral obligation to understand the opponent's view, before rejecting it.

Mohanty gives a philosophical reason as the cause for the Hindu king subserviating his sovereignty to the concept of *dharma*. Buddhism opposed anything eternal or enduring, and favoured changing particulars against universal entities. Therefore, wherever Buddhism was popular, those states advocated a sort of republican government. The Hindu regnal system is in sharp contrast to the Western political thought. In the face of breakdown in the concepts of natural law and of the theological world-view, the Western polity veered towards an ultimate and absolute political authority. Similarly, philosophy is cited as a cause for the rise of the caste system which was similar to the Platonic division of society into the intellectual, military and economic powers. Though there was no fourth component in the Greek plan, there existed a class of slaves. In the Indian system the *śūdras* were free citizens. But, the author advances a criticism against *dharma* that though some *dharma* is needed for social cohesion, those that set out the *varṇa*, or caste divisions are outmoded, and need to be replaced by rules based on nonhierarchical ethics.

On the concept of *dharma* and interpreting the Vedic gods, Mohanty follows Aurobindo's thoughts. *Dharma* is a loose concept covering a variety of phenomena. But it amply fulfils today's needs in moral thinking; where it is partly moral rules, partly a theory of virtues some of which are communitarian;

there is also the injunction of performing duty for duty's sake alone, subserving even *mokṣa* where as the author says, ethics transcends itself.

In Part IV, on the chapter on "Philosophy of Religion", he prefers to see the Vedic hymns in three layers. First, it is the naturalistic polytheism where the deities are recognised as the means by which the individual is connected to the cosmos; at the ritualistic level, it is the practice of the rules (*dharma*) which connects the individual to the community. In the third and most esoteric level, it is man's search for his inner self and its unity with the outer Self. This Vedic symbolism has enlarged into religious art, the author states, in the ensuing religion. Thus religion based on the Vedic poems became artistic. Thus, "Figurative art sought to rigidify the forms that arose out of the fluidity of poetic experience. Music, including singing and chanting, sought to capture the fluidity of the process behind the rigidity of the figurative art." (p. 127). The next chapter (9) treats aesthetics, illustrated by tables summarising the chapter.

While enumerating the four *purusārthas*, he logically lists them as : *kāma*, *artha*, *dharma* and *mokṣa*. But, in the traditional listing, seeking fulfilment of *kāma* and *artha* one should not deviate from *dharma*, and thus *dharma* was given the first position.

There are four Appendices, the first one on his favoured topic of cognition from the Navya-Nyāya. The second covers general features of knowledge in Indian theories. The third and fourth give a helpful list of basic texts, and their doctrines of the different schools of philosophy, and a Glossary.

Mohanty is concerned about where Indian philosophy is heading, and how philosophers of the present day can help further its cause. At another place (*Essays on Indian Philosophy - Traditional and Modern*), he lists out various imperatives that should be followed by today's philosophers, and ends his peroration with a call to them to make philosophy relevant to present day realities: that they should avoid being complacent in outmoded thoughts, glorifying our past with worn out clichés; that they should not shirk using Western methodology, or balk from integrating their best thoughts into our theses.

This is an excellent work on the Indian systems of philosophy, and is a must for not only the lay person, but for students and scholars alike.

Indira S. Aiyar

BETWEEN TWO WORLDS EAST AND WEST, AN AUTOBIOGRAPHY,
 J. N. MOHANTY, Oxford University Press, New Delhi - 110 001, 2002,
 pp. 134. Rs. 345.

In his Foreword, Mohanty says that he did not want to write about philosophy, but since it was inextricably entwined with his life, it was not possible to exclude it from the account of his life. He says he is recounting the life of an "Indian by birth and upbringing, Hindu by faith, philosopher by profession", living in the USA, but never forgetting his roots in India; thus arose this "response to history."

Talking about his childhood in a village in Orissa, he bemoans the breaking up of the joint family, followed by the slow disintegration of the family house which was a repository of innumerable emotions and experiences of all the members of such a family.

He graduated from Calcutta University. He has fulsome praise for the teaching faculty in the Presidency College, and says nowhere else in the world had he found such inspiring teachers! At this period he came under the influence of the philosophy of both Vinoba Bhave, and Mahatma Gandhi.

He went to Germany to do his Ph. D. in Göttingen University. At this period he pursued Mathematics in the Max Planck Institute. Earlier in India, he had studied Vedanta with *Mahamahopadhyaya* Yogendranatha Tarka-Vedantatirtha, and Navya-Nyaya with *Pandit* Ananta kumar Tarkatirtha. In Germany, he also took up study of Vedic Sanskrit just to find out how the Germans taught this language! This mastery over the two strands of philosophy enabled him to interpret Indian thought using Western philosophic viewpoints. His contribution to philosophy is thus unique. "All my efforts have been focused upon reinterpreting Indian thought", he says. His interest in philosophy has been wide ranging, and his latest focus has been on the concept of *dharma*.

He was introduced to Husserl's philosophy even while he was in India. He studied this while he was doing his doctorate, and later he returned to Germany and contributed much towards publishing Husserl's works. He found this work personally inspiring.

He also felt his estimate of philosophy at its lowest ebb when he found many eminent philosophers compromising their ideologies under the Nazi regime. He could not forgive discriminating thinkers falling prey to powerful propaganda.

He returned to India after his Ph. D., and taught in various capacities at the Universities of Calcutta, Burdwan and Santiniketan (Visva Bharati). He left for the USA intending to stay for a few years, but it extended to beyond 30 years.

He contrasts the papers he presented in the West, and in Calcutta. According to him, the former were "professional", "scholarly" and "scientific", while the latter were based on more practical concerns, though they were mutually complimentary.

He visits India often, but prefers the Gandhian village-centred country, to the present day high-tech Americanised India. In a truly prescient way he says he was afraid of the Hindutva of the BJP, as according to him its ideologists are not believers in Hinduism.

As for his personal philosophy, he believes that at death, the physical body disintegrates, merging into the elements, and the personal consciousness merges into a cosmic consciousness. He makes a curious observation that ancestor worship makes more sense to him than worshipping an imaginary deity! His faith in religion was shattered when he saw terrible atrocities committed in its name in the post-independence India.

He calls himself a "semantic agnostic", as he does not understand the word "God", and prefers the Upaniṣadic concept of *brahman*. He understands religiosity as being sensitive to the sacredness of life, humanity, nature, etc. Freed from the burden of the conventional belief in God's existence, he says he is able to move freely on the path of thinking, which has no closure.

He has led an exhilarating life he avers. It has been an interesting journey travelling with this brilliant thinker as he traces his life's path, as he sojourns with affection at the many places which helped shape his academic life, and reminiscing on the intellectual luminaries who helped shape his thoughts on philosophy. The sensitivity of approach makes the perusal of the book an aesthetic experience.

Indira S. Aiyar

THE PROBLEM OF IDENTITY: WOMEN IN EARLY INDIAN INSCRIPTIONS,
KIRIT K. SHAH; Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2001, pp. 194.
Rs. 495.

In this monograph the author draws on epigraphic accounts, belonging to the three centuries before and after Christ, in which women speak for themselves. Two hundred and thirty inscriptions are chosen for the purpose of this study that offers an alternative paradigm for the history of women in early India to the approach in traditional historiography which is based mainly on textual sources, almost totally excluding epigraphic records. The

main argument of the author is that, unlike women figuring in early Indian literature who mostly emerge from an androcentric perspective, those figuring in epigraphic records are real women who once walked on the stage of history. References to most of them are free from male bias, and so they are closer to historical reality than the idealized women of literature.

The book is divided into six chapters. In the first chapter, Shah situates his work against the background of both feminist theory and the writing of 'women's history.' One important question raised is that of the concept of the social identity of women in early India as revealed through inscriptions. By nature and purpose, most of the available records of women are records of donations or dedications; in these the identity of the donatrix is highlighted. What is refreshing is that quite a few women ventured into the public space offered by epigraphy.

The next chapter surveys women with royal attributes of identity. In this category, there is an unequal representation of royal women in regional as well as religious terms. While no royal woman from the north-west or east has entered the epigraphic space, there are just three from the north and two from central India. The Deccan and the South dominate the scene; but the records from the former are evenly spread over the region while those of the South come from a single site, namely Nagarjunikonda. The imbalance in the regional visibility of royal women is evident on the religious plane as well. For example, an overwhelming majority of queens mentioned in inscriptions are Buddhist. Almost all the queens have been given their identity within the familial framework; however the selection of attributes from the familial framework has been guided usually by considerations of power-relationships. There are cases in which the husbands have been completely ignored for constructing identity, and others, in which the identity has been established through the mother. The high visibility of royal women in the Deccan and Nagarjunikonda inscriptions may have something to do with the survival of matriarchal elements in the societies of these areas; there is also epigraphic evidence of the custom of cross-cousin marriages in this region.

Chapter III examines the inscriptions of women who identify themselves with familial attributes. A section of Buddhist women from central India has figured absolutely outside the familial framework, while no women from other faiths have done so. The study of this group of epigraphs reveals that, in geographical terms, the Jaina and Brahmanical women came from a narrow and compact area, namely, the western part of present Uttar Pradesh, while the Buddhist women belonged mostly to central India, the Deccan and the South. A few of them figure in inscriptions from north-western India as well. The geographical spread is surprising; for although Jainism may not have

been as widespread as Buddhism, Brahmanism certainly commanded a far larger geographical area than the provenance of its records indicates. Probably, Brahmanical patriarchy permitted less public space to its women than its Buddhist counterpart. This is corroborated by the fact that the number of Buddhist inscriptions with women donors is far larger than the Brahmanical inscriptions.

Interestingly, the importance of familial status was not the same in all societies. Very few Buddhist women figure as daughters and daughters-in-law, while most Jaina women attach overriding importance to these positions when establishing their identity. Apparently, Jaina women continued to maintain a close connection with their parental families even after marriage. There are also variations within the same religious traditions as to which relationships are highlighted for purposes of identity. In the Sanchi Buddhist records the wifely status is mentioned, for example by naming the husband, while in the Buddhist inscriptions of the north-western region the identity of the husband is ignored. Again, the motherly status is an important attribute of identity in the Buddhist inscriptions from central India, while this is hardly the case in the records from other areas. There is even one inscription in which a grandmother is the source of identity for her grandsons. Likewise, the native place as an attribute of identity was popular in central India, but hardly so elsewhere. These multiple patterns of identity-construction in terms of the familial status may be taken to mean that, notwithstanding the role of custom and convention in shaping their consciousness of their social self, women did enjoy some autonomy in the epigraphic space offered to them.

In Chapter IV, Shah examines the inscriptions in which women establish their identity through religious attributes. In this group are included both inscriptions of female lay worshippers, as well as, those of nuns. What is conspicuous is the total absence of Brahmanical inscriptions in this category. For not only was the order of nuns alien to the Brahmanical tradition, there is also no counterpart in Brahmanism to the Buddhist and Jaina lay-devotee, the *upāsikā* and *śrāvikā*, respectively. Interesting patterns, regarding the geographical spread and in the concept of identity, emerge in this category of inscriptions as well. For example, the inscriptions of Buddhist nuns are found in certain regions and not in others, and ironically, unlike the lay *upāsikās* who rarely resorted to their familial status as an attribute of identity, the Buddhist nuns from the Deccan and South frequently figure in a familial framework.

In Chapter V, women with professional attributes of identity are examined. This forms the smallest group of inscriptions. Interestingly, ten kinds of women with professional identity have been located, although in most cases only one inscription reflecting that profession is found.

The epilogue sums up the findings. In general, although women did find

a space for themselves in early India, the hold of patriarchy on the collective consciousness of women is evident in the fact that most women of all regions and religions have identified themselves with attributes from familial framework that are patriarchal. Yet, this is not universally the case. There are also inscriptions that reveal that some men, both from royal and non-royal circles, used their metronymic as an attribute of identity. In other words, women, at least in their role as mothers, were at times the source of identity to men in early India.

This study is both useful and interesting as a pioneering work using epigraphy to examine the space that women found for themselves in early Indian history. However, due to the nature of epigraphic sources, such a study cannot be exhaustive. Again, the majority of inscriptions are Buddhist and Jaina in nature. The comparative paucity of Brahmanical data, as well as the comparative scarcity of epigraphs of women from certain regions, indicate that the space that women found for themselves was not uniformly the same all over the country, and it differed according to religion. Offering a strong argument for revising the conventional historiography that perceives women as silent voices of history, this book contributes to a meaningful discussion on gender relations in early India. It will appeal to scholars and students of Indian history, very especially, to those interested in questions of identity of women.

Anila Verghese

KĀŅCĪ KĀMAKOṬI MUTT, A MYTH OR REALITY? W. R. ANTARKAR, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Pune 411 004 (India), 2001, pp. 154.

The author is aiming to prove that the Kāñcī Kāmakoṭi Mutt in the southern part of India was established by no one else than by the great Advaitin Ādi Śaṅkarācārya and that he himself was the first Head of the Mutt. He also believes that Śaṅkara breathed his last not in the Himalayan region but at Kāñcī.

According to the Kāñcī Mutt, Śaṅkara, after establishing the four Mutts at Dvārakā, Kedāra, Purī and Śṛṅgerī, came to Kāñcī and he also established a fifth Mutt, of which he became the first head (Adhipati). The claim of the Kāñcī Mutt is said to be based on works like *Guru Ratna Mālā*, *Ānandagīṛya*, *Śiva-Rahasya*, *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* and the various works like the *Bṛhat Śaṅkara Vijaya*, *Śaṅkara Vilāsa*, *Gauḍapādollāsa* and others, and lastly, on the ten

copper-plate grants brought forward by the Kāñcī Mutt.

According to the other side, headed by the Śṛṅgerī Mutt, and supported by the Dvārakā and Purī Mutts, the position is as follows :

Śaṅkara established four Āmnāya Mutts only at Dvārakā, Kedāra, Purī and Śṛṅgerī and none at Kāñcī at all.

Firstly, the establishment by Śaṅkara of an Āmnāya Mutt at Kāñcī has not been specifically mentioned in any *Śaṅkara Vijaya*. Vyāsācala, the author of *Śaṅkara Vijaya* also makes no mention of any Mutt established by Śaṅkara at Kāñcī.

The historians hold that the Kāñcī Mutt was a branch of the Śṛṅgerī Mutt, which was established in 1821 by the Tanjore king and later became independent.

In his discourses on the life of Śrī Ādi Śaṅkara, Paramācārya of the Kāñcī Mutt mentions four Mutts only as having been established by him. He makes no reference whatever to any Mutt at Kāñcī.

Finally, the author states that till such time as more clinching and convincing evidence becomes available, it is better to leave the controversy here only, viz. that a fifth Mutt by Śaṅkara at Kāñcī is more possibly a reality than a myth or even "a pious myth."

The author uses abbreviations for proper names, place names and publications in the text which is never done in publications. This also makes reading very cumbersome. There are many printing errors in the book which could have been avoided by careful proof-reading. The book is not divided into chapters and also index is not provided. Cheap quality paper is used for printing the text.

The author has referred to many sources and authors in bringing out this book. Those who are interested in knowing more about Kāñcī Kāmakoti Mutt will be benefitted by reading this book.

B. V. Shetti

BAGH PAINTINGS: IDENTIFICATION AND INTERPRETATION, MEENA TALIM, Somaiya Publications Pvt. Ltd., Mumbai-New Delhi, 2002, pp. 107, Rs. 600.

While the murals at Ajanta are a favourite subject of art-critics and historians those at Bagh seem to have been neglected and forgotten. Very few scholars worked on the Bagh Frescos which are now almost destroyed. There are nine caves which may be dated to mid-fifth century CE.

In this situation, Dr. Meena Talim's efforts in identification and interpretation of Bagh murals are very much appreciated. She has relied on Buddhist texts, both Pali and Sanskrit, and texts on ancient Indian history. However, she has never visited the Bagh Caves. The book includes reproductions of coloured photographs and line drawings mainly from Sir J. Marshall's book and a few line drawings based on John Anderson's work. She also depended mainly on the descriptions given by the earlier scholars, especially Dr. E. Impey and Dr. J. Ph. Vogel.

The present monograph includes six scenes and two Padmapāñi Bodhisattvas in the Bagh Caves. She has divided the work into topics rather than chapters. Topic 1 is a survey of available material on the Bagh paintings. Topic II is entirely devoted to identifying and interpreting each painting. Topic III deals with choice of Bagh painters in selecting the topics. The scroll paintings are described in Topic IV. Topic V gives a comparative study of the Ajanta and Bagh frescoes.

Dr. Talim identifies the scene One as Mālinī-Vastu of the *Mahāvastu-Avadānam*. There is hardly any ground to identify the wealthy lady as Mālinī. Dr. Anupa Pande in her recent book - *The Buddhist Cave Paintings of Bagh*, (Aryan Books International, New Delhi, 2002) - identifies this scene as Weeping Sundarī, the wife of Nanda and companion, seated in a terraced pavilion. Dr. Talim identifies the second scene as Vidhurapandita Jātaka, whereas as Dr. Pande describes it as Nanda listening to the Sermon of the Buddhist *bhikṣu*. Dr. Talim identifies the third scene as Patiharia Miracle of the Buddhist, whereas Dr. Pande narrates it as Flight to Paradise and Kinnarī Group on Mt. Himāvanta.

Dr. Talim describes the fourth scene as Dance Sequence, whereas Dr. Pande identifies it as Nanda surrounded by the celestial maidens in Indra's Paradise. Dr. Talim identifies the fifth scene as Horse-Procession of the Licchavīs, whereas, Dr. Pande describes it as the scene showing the Śākyan noblemen and their king set out to meet Gautama Buddha on his return to Kapilavastu. Dr. Talim describes the sixth scene as the Procession of Elephants in Mahājanaka Jātaka, whereas, Dr. Pande identifies it as Nanda preaching in Kapilavastu, followed by his wife Sundarī and other inmates of the harem.

It seems that the author is not aware that Late Mr. Karl Khandalawala had carried out complete photography and drawings of the murals by artists for the future publication of the Lalit Kala Academy by M. N. Deshpande, the former Director General of the Archaeological Survey of India.

Dr. Talim has not included the following scenes in her book.

- 1) Ānanda preaching to Nanda on the demerits of Paradise.
- 2) The Buddha and a Devotee Monk, Cave 3.
- 3) The Buddha seated in *Dhyānamudrā*, Cave 4.
- 4) Seated Buddha, *Dharmacakramudrā*, Cave 4.
- 5) Bodhisattva figures, Cave 4.
- 6) Figures of foreigners at Bagh; a Persian lady and three Persian figures.

Lack of proper diacritical marks and some spelling mistakes indicate that the proof-correction was not done properly. The production of the book is of good quality.

B. V. Shetti

THE TEMPLES IN KUMBHĀRIYĀ, M. A. DHAKY, and U. S. MOORTI, xxiv + 190 pages, 244 black and white photographs, 14 drawings. American Institute of Indian Studies, New Delhi, and Lalbhai Dalpatbhai Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad, 2001. Rs. 1200.

Kumbhariya near Ambaji on the northern border of Gujarat is an important medieval site with five Jaina temples and one Śiva temple. These marble temples, dating between the 11th and late 13th centuries, are noteworthy for their spectacular interiors, but are comparatively less famous than the temples of Abu and Ranakpur. Even so they are of equal importance for an understanding of the development of the western Indian temple architecture. The authors Prof. M. A. Dhaky and Dr. U. S. Moorti present a well studied and authentic account of the Kumbhariya temples giving detailed description of their architecture, associated sculptures, and inscriptions. As there are not many specialized publications on these splendid temples, but only the small monographs (including the one in Gujarati by Prof. Dhaky himself), the work under review is an important exhaustive study of the subject, illustrated with excellent photographs.

The splendour of the Kumbhariya temples was conveyed to the art history world by Stella Kramrisch by publication of three photographs of these temples in her *Art of India: Traditions of Indian Sculpture, Painting and Architecture* (1954). Before that in 1939, Narmadashankar Sompura published about 14 pictures of the Kumbhariya temples in his Vāstu text *Śilpa-Ratnākara* (Gujarati), however, without comments in the text proper. Some of the exquisite ceilings found place in the monographic paper on 'Ceilings of Gujarat' by Dhaky and J. M. Nanavati in 1963. The book under review gives a resume of the earlier writings and notices of the temples, starting with A. K. Forbes's *Rās Mālā* in 1856. D. R. Bhandarkar's descriptions in 1905-06 help us to visualize the temples in their early state about hundred years back. The authors find useful a monograph in Gujarati by Shri Muni Vishalavijaya, published in 1961. They also examine some late medieval Gujarati sources starting with 13th century mentioning the Kumbhariya temples.

Kumbhariya was the town of the Jaina mercantile community. The authors give a historical background of Jainism in Gujarat, along with information on the scholars of Śvetāmbara order, their literary and doctrinal works. They give an account of the flourishing state of Jainism under the pre-Soḷaṅkī and Soḷaṅkī rulers of Gujarat, and the temple building activity under them. In the 11th to 13th centuries, Ārāsaṇa (medieval name of Kumbhariya), meaning marble quarry, was included within the domains of the Soḷaṅkīs of Gujarat. However, it is worth noting that the royal family did not build a single temple at this site. One of the temples, that of Jina Ādinātha, was a Saṅgha-caitya, built through the corporate efforts of the members of a Saṅgha. A tradesman Pāsila built the temple of Neminātha. The earliest temple to be built on this site was in or a little before 1031. The discovery of the marble (*ārasa*) quarries in the area played an important role in the building of these sumptuous temples. The monograph gives an interesting account of the erudite and religious culture of the time.

In order to place the Kumbhariya temples in their proper architectural context, the authors begin with a chapter on the general characteristics of the western Indian Jaina temple built according to the Maru-Gurjara architectural style. They describe the main components of the temple such as *prāsāda* (shrine), *gūḍhamandapa* (closed hall), *mukhamandapa* (front hall), *raṅgamandapa* (pillared hall) and so on. This general account of the western Indian temple is followed by detailed descriptions of the formal aspects of each of the six Kumbhariya temples, namely the Ādinātha (later dedicated to Jina Śāntinātha), Mahāvīra, Pārśvanātha, Neminātha, Sambhavanātha, and the Kumbheśvara. Floor plans of the temples and elevation of their *pīthas* (base mouldings) are presented. Three temples of the site belong to the 'Caturvīṃśati-Jinālaya' class with 24 *devakulikās* or sub-shrines of 24 Jinas, a concept that starts since mid 9th century. All the temples have their *śikharas*

(spires) of multi-turreted (Śekhārī) class, not monospired type, which went out of vogue in this region after early 11th century. Notably, all the Jaina temples at this site face north, due possibly to ritual reasons, and therefore have problems of light. The only surviving Śiva temple, the Kumbheśvara temple, faces east. The authors do not agree with D. R. Bhandarkar's date of this Śiva temple of AD 1027 but on the basis of its style and general qualitative inferiority date it to 13th century. One more Śiva temple, called Saṅgameśvara, built here was already in a completely devastated state when first reported by Bhandarkar. The authors give details of the damages done to the temples as recorded in old accounts and their renovations in the 16th century. Certain cult images were consecrated in 1619.

The most remarkable are the ceilings of the Kumbhariya temples. These almost rival in their aesthetic quality with those of the famous Abu temples. Different structural units of the temples have a rich array of ceilings decorated with geometrical, floral and figural subjects. The latter depict narrative themes dealing with the lives of Jinas. There are also Vidyā-Devīs, Yakṣas and Yakṣīs filling the yantra-like designs of the ceilings. The authors have described the different types of ceilings in Vāstuśāstra terminology. Remarking on the ceilings, the authors comment: "Their inclusion invests the Jaina temple with the completeness and contributes to the singularity of the celestial appearance of its interior, a stunning feeling experienced of course more strongly in the Delwada examples than in the Kumbhariya instances."

In the chapter on associated sculptures of the temples, the authors point out the progressive decline that set in the quality of images after CE 1030 in western India. The hieratic images of the 12th century and later "are useful for the iconographic and ritual-worship purpose alone, not so much for art." But the accompanying figures in frames of icons, or animal figurines on outer strips of ceilings are lively. Varieties of dance postures in sculptures would attract notice of dance historians. The sculptural reliefs on highly intricate ceilings are useful as mythological narrative documents. The explanatory notes on the typical Jaina mythological subjects such as the Nandīśvaradvīpa-paṭṭa, Kalyāṇatraya-paṭṭa, Aṣṭāpada (Kailāsa Mountain) where Jina Ādinātha is believed to have attained salvation, help us to appreciate these in their proper contexts.

In their chapter on inscriptions the authors select 147 epigraphs from 161 recorded by Muni Vishalavijaya and add the three recently spotted by L. Bhojak. They draw attention to the significant temple components referred to in inscriptions. Not often do we find such allusions to architectural components in inscriptions of other Indian sites. Although the foundational inscriptions of the temples could not be discovered at this site, the surviving inscriptions are informative on reconstructing the socio-religious history of the site. These mention "gachchas", suborders of monks and friars, high officials and other

donors. There are even late inscriptions of the Mughal period mentioning Emperor Akbar and his successor Jahangir.

Both art-interpretative and art-historical aspects are taken into account in the comments on photographs. The illustrations, comments as well a detailed Glossary at the end would help both general and specialized readers in approaching the temples and understanding their imagery. The book has succeeded in showing the Kumbhariya temples as visual documents of medieval Jaina art and in placing the importance of these temples in the history of Indian temple art and achitecture.

Devangana Desai

ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF INDIAN TEMPLE ARCHITECTURE : SOUTH INDIA, DRĀVIDADEŚA, LATER PHASE, c. A. D. 1289-1798 , Edited by GEORGE MICHELL and Coordinated by U. S. MOORTI. American Institute of Indian Studies, New Delhi, 2001. 382 pages, 570 black and white photographs, 123 drawings, Rs. 5500/- set of two volumes.

These volumes describe the contribution to temple architecture of the Vijayanagara empire, which extended over a substantial portion of Karnataka, Andhra and Tamil Nadu, as well as of some of the Vijayanagara successor states. The first volume consists of text and drawings, while the second contains only photographs. The developments in temple architecture in Karnataka, Andhra and Tamil Nadu are discussed by George Michell and those of Kerala by Jayaram Poduval. This set is the fourth in the series of volumes, published by the American Institute of Indian Studies, which explores the temple architecture of South India.

The evolution of temple architecture during the period under survey is described dynastically. The first chapter provides the background to the development of religious architecture during the Vijayanagara period by discussing temple architecture in Karnataka and Andhra under Hoysala and Kākaṭīya domination during the decades preceding the foundation of the empire. This is followed by the detailed analysis of temple architecture in southern India as it evolved from the middle of the 14th century onwards under the Saṅgama, Tuluva and Āraṇḍu rulers of Vijayanagara. Later chapters deal with the religious monuments of the lesser dynasties which succeeded those of Vijayanagara in Karnataka during the 16th and 17th centuries. The last chapters concentrate on contemporary temple styles that developed in coastal Karnataka and Kerala.

Each chapter begins with a brief historical background and analysis of the architectural features, followed by a detailed description of the monuments. The end-notes provide not only a list of references on history and architecture, but also of all the inscriptional references.

The monuments of the early Saṅgamas are limited in scale and in range, reflecting the modest resources available to these rulers for constructional activities. These comparatively small temples are in the Karnāta-Drāviḍa style of architecture that was prevalent in this region prior to the establishment of the Vijayanagara state. Under the later Saṅgamas, there is the appearance of an ornate highly-sculptured idiom, with features borrowed from the Tamil style of temple architecture such as decorated basement mouldings and wall surfaces. Another significant development of this period is the transformation of the single temple into a walled complex with subsidiary shrines and axial gateways. However, side by side with this more ornate style of monuments, a more sober idiom, as found under the early Saṅgamas, is depicted in some of the later Saṅgama monuments.

Although there is historical information available about the brief Sāḷuva period (1485-1505), there is a paucity of religious monuments that can be ascribed to this dynasty. Under the Tuluvas, temple architecture progresses to enormous, richly decorated religious complexes. The elevational treatment of the *vimānas*, the coordinated layouts of temple complexes, the elaborate and varied pillar-types as well as the *gopura* forms derive from the 12th-13th century Tamil prototypes. That this revivalist and imported idiom was capable of further stylistic evolution is evident from the diverse types of *maṇḍapas* that precede temple *vimānas* or stand freely in the surrounding compounds. The coordinated complex of sanctuaries and *maṇḍapas* are contained within one or more *prākāras*. The speed with which this style gained almost universal acceptance in South India during the course of the 16th century testifies to the central role of Vijayanagara in the political, cultural and artistic life of the region.

The Āraviḍu style is largely a development and elaboration of that of the Tuluvas, especially with regard to magnificently constructed *maṇḍapas* and *gopuras*. Its geographical extent, however, is restricted to religious monuments in the southernmost provinces of Andhra and several of the northern provinces of Tamil Nadu, reflecting the reduced territories directly under the control of the last line of Vijayanagara monarchs. The temples of the rulers of the Vijayanagara successor states in Karnataka are essentially imitative and mostly modest in scale. Some of them are also revivalist in nature and demonstrate the survival of the earlier Vijayanagara-Karnāṭa idiom even as late as the 17th and 18th centuries.

The religious monuments of this period in coastal Karnataka and Kerala have their own distinctive styles, reflective of the geography and climatic conditions in these regions. They are generally very different from contemporary temples in the rest of Karnataka, Andhra and Tamil Nadu. In these areas of high rainfall and, often, heavy forestation, indigenous forms in wood, tile and metal survived and/or are imitated in stone. In these temples, gabled roof forms are also common.

While these volumes deal extensively and intensively with the temples of Karnataka, Andhra and Kerala of the 14th to 18th centuries, those in Tamil Nadu are not dealt with in much detail. This is partly due to the fact that, while there is no shortage of historical documents testifying to building activity in the Tamil country under the Saṅgama, Sāluva and Tuḷuva rulers, the architectural records present a very different picture: few religious structures survive intact from this period. Hence, it is very difficult to give an accurate assessment of temple building in the Tamil country during the Vijayanagara period. No doubt, monuments which can be assigned with some confidence to the 15th or first half of the 16th centuries or to the Āraṇḍi period have been described; but these are few. The religious monuments of the Vijayanagara successor states of the Tamil region have not been dealt with in these volumes. Undoubtedly, the developments in religious architecture under the great Nāyaka rulers and their successors in central and southern Tamil Nadu are worthy of a distinct set of volumes dedicated specifically to them. However, since these have not yet been published in the series, the reader cannot get a total picture of the evolution of temple architecture in South India from the 14th to the 18th century.

The majority of religious monuments described in this set of two volumes have never been adequately studied before; hence, these volumes offer the first opportunity to study and evaluate the architectural developments in South India during these four centuries. The detailed drawings and photographs enhance the information provided by the text. These volumes are, therefore, extremely useful to scholars and students interested in the religious architecture of South India. However, the steep price, understandable given the size and quality of the research work and of the publication, is a drawback for it may hinder this work from finding the wide circulation it richly deserves.

Anila Verghese

HAMPI, ANILA VERGHESE, pp. 95 + 24 Photographs, 13 Illustrations. Published by Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2002. Rs. 395.

SANCHI, M. K. DHAVALIKAR, pp. 121 + 63 Illustrations. Published by Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2003. Rs. 395.

CHURCHES OF GOA, JOSE PEREIRA, pp. 103 + 16 Plates, 26 Illustrations. Published by Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2002. Rs. 395.

KHAJURAHO, DEVANGANA DESAI, pp. 107 + 25 Plates, 15 Illustrations. Published by Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2000. Rs. 395.

The four books under review, part of the 'Monumental Series' published by Oxford University Press, address a long-felt need for well-written, authoritative introductions to the major cultural sites in India. Authored by eminent scholars, the series is edited by art historian Devangana Desai.

All the books in the series follow a common format. The first few chapters sketch the historical, religious and artistic background against which the individual sites need to be viewed, and these are followed by a detailed guide to the monuments themselves. Information on accommodation and transport, which can be more conveniently located in popular travel guides, is kept to a minimum. The quality of the writing, a number of photographs, excellent maps and site plans, practical glossaries, together with their compact size, make these books not only handy travel companions, but very useful introductions to art history for more serious readers.

While a common conceptual theme runs through the series, the individual volumes differ considerably in their overall impact.

Anila Verghese's *Hampi* is, as she puts it, 'a labour of love', and the author's personal touch is evident throughout the book. Hampi was the capital of the Vijayanagara kingdom from the mid-fourteenth century until 1565, and at the height of its glory was one of the most splendid cities in the world. Covering a huge area of about twenty-five square kilometres, the 'Hampi ruins' include scores of temples and shrines, the remains of palaces and marketplaces, fortifications and residences in a landscape bound by the Tungabhadra River in the north and strewn with enormous boulders and hilly outcrops.

Not only did the landscape offer natural protection but, as Anila Verghese explains in Chapter 2, the site was the home of Virūpākṣa, a powerful Śaiva deity, and also believed to be the mythical Kiṣkindhā, the kingdom of Vāli and Sugrīva of the *Rāmāyaṇa* - and was thus under divine protection. Hence

both strategic and religious considerations made the founders of Vijayanagara select Hampi as their capital.

Chapter 3 gives an overview of the architecture of the period. Verghese describes how secular monuments blend Islamic and Hindu elements to create a typical Vijayanagara style; religious structures exhibit two distinct strains—the local Deccan tradition, and the imported Tamil style. Eventually these too fuse into a unique Vijayanagara style. A more detailed account of this process, and of the characteristic features of the Vijayanagara style (like the 100-pillared hall for cultural activities and the composite pillars in the temples), together with a reference back to these features while describing individual monuments, would have added an additional dimension to the viewer's understanding.

Hampi monuments are divided into four functional zones: the sacred centre, the intermediate irrigated valley, the urban core and the suburban centres. Anila Verghese takes us on a fascinating tour of these, beginning with an early morning walk to the top of Mātaṅga hill for a spectacular view. The great Viṭṭhala and Virūpākṣa temples, the Queen's Bath and the Mahānavamī Platform are carefully described, as are the many lesser known monuments on the way. Most visitors content themselves with the sacred site and the royal enclosure, but the author advises a walk along the river (or for the more adventurous, a ride in a traditional basketboat) where hidden in the mass of rocks and boulders are shrines, shelters, and small temples with magnificent carvings such as that of Hanumān in meditation inside a *yantra*.

Unlike Hampi, where scores of structures vie for attention, the monuments at Sanchi in Madhya Pradesh are dominated by the Great Stūpa, undoubtedly one of the most important Buddhist edifices in India. M. K. Dhavalikar's *Sanchi* therefore naturally concentrates on this monument. The core of the Great Stūpa goes back to Aśokan times, but the impressive gateways with their exquisite sculptural decorations were executed in the 2nd century CE, when this region was ruled by the Sātavāhana dynasty. The monument has no unified iconographical scheme. As the more than one thousand inscriptions suggest, most of the panels were donated by individual donors who seem to have specified what they wished the craftsmen to portray.

Describing the Great Stūpa as 'one of the grandest of man's creations', Dhavalikar sketches its main architectural features, and gives us a meticulous description of each of the sculptural panels on the railings and gateways. The Jātaka stories and incidents from Śākyamuni Buddha's life that many of the panels illustrate are clearly recounted. This is followed by shorter accounts of the other *stūpas* at Sanchi, the Aśokan pillar, the Buddhist monasteries and the temples which, though small and ruined, are very significant for understanding the history of temple architecture in India.

The viewer's understanding of the Great Stūpa and other monuments would have been greatly enhanced had the factual account been supplemented by more information about the religious and aesthetic underpinnings of these monuments. For example, while Dhavalikar gives us an account of the Buddha's life (Chapter 2), he tells us nothing about his teachings or the development of Buddhism. The symbolism of the *stūpa*, as well as the architectural characteristics of the three main types of Buddhist monuments (*stūpa*, *vihāra* and *caitya*) are also not explained. (In fact, the Glossary rather confusingly defines '*caitya*' as '*stūpa*').

The art of Sanchi was not official art, dictated by the requirements and preferences of the court, but reflected rather the tenets of early Buddhism and the simple but deep faith of its followers. It is only by viewing the Great Stūpa against this background, that we can understand why the Sanchi carvings which, though technically unsophisticated, are so appealing. And can appreciate better the wonderful depiction of animals, birds, and trees, which though not scientifically accurate, stems from a loving awareness of nature and the Buddha's insistence on the interconnectedness of all things.

If Dhavalikar gives too little information about religious background or architectural idiom, Jose Pereira gives rather too much. Nineteen pages of *Churches of Goa* spell out, in minute detail, the structural and decorative elements that define the five main classical orders, the differences between the Romanesque, Gothic and Neo-Roman styles, the three types of churches and even the various types of church altars. The language is often very technical: sentences like 'Rectilinearity and curvation can be expressed in massive volumes or through linear and surface articulation' seem to be addressed more to students of art history, than to the average tourist.

In contrast, however, the first chapter, 'Elements of Goa's Individuality' is both clear and very informative. We learn about the imperial ambitions of Spain and Portugal in the fifteenth century, and how the conquest of Goa in 1510 was part of overall Portuguese strategy to strike at the source of Arab prosperity - its trade with Asia. The author describes how, of the two overriding motives for colonial expansion, 'Faith' and 'Empire', 'Empire' was destined to perish, but 'Faith' to endure. Pereira reminds us that the Goans were the first non-western people to adapt western cultural modes to non-western conditions, and illustrates the manner in which academic disciplines like historiography, botany, medicine and linguistics, Western music, and architectural styles were imported into Goa and then adapted and developed to suit local needs and conditions.

Elaborating on this theme, Pereira traces the three-phase evolution of religious art in Goa in Chapters 5, 6 and 7, with references to nine main

churches. In the first phase, churches, such as the Cathedral in Velha Goa, were based entirely on European (in this case, Renaissance) models. The church of Bom Jesus, which houses the tomb of Saint Francis Xavier and is one of the holiest sites of Catholic Asia, exemplifies the second phase. Indian elements, such as a smaller sanctuary and more elaborate patterning of the church front, were now introduced. Finally, in the third, 'Indian Baroque' phase, the idiom derived from Europe was controlled by an Indian aesthetic. The church of Espirito Santao in Margao is an excellent example.

In *Khajuraho*, Devangana Desai strikes the right balance between proffering too much information, and too little. Chapters 3, 4 and 5 give the religious background, the symbolism and the stylistic features of temple architecture, the distinctive features of Khajuraho sculpture and the iconography of the main Hindu and Jaina divinities that are portrayed in the temples. The description is concise and easy to understand, and helps the visitor to go beyond a superficial viewing of the monuments, to understand their purpose and appreciate their great beauty.

The small village of Khajuraho in Madhya Pradesh was, for 300 years between CE 900 and 1200, a flourishing temple town under the Candella kings, dotted with magnificent, mountain-like temples, each square inch of which are covered with sculptures of gods and goddesses, *apsarās*, mythical animals, warriors, dancers and a number of erotic scenes. But while the latter account for less than one-tenth of the total number of sculptures on the temples, for most people today, Khajuraho is synonymous with wildly erotic art.

Desai tackles this misconception head-on. The temple, far from being an illustration of the *Kāmasūtra* in stone, is a place of worship, a symbolic representation of the cosmos. This is reflected in the carefully worked out iconic schemes of individual temples, which aim at bridging the gulf between the formless Absolute and the individual worshipper through a graded series of images: the principal divinity and its emanations and sub-emanations. Thus the profusion of divinities is conceptually integrated with the central divinity in the sanctum.

Desai guides us through the 25 existing temples at Khajuraho, which are divided into the Western, Eastern and Southern groups for convenience. She suggests the approximate time required to view the temples and the best time to view them. We see the esoteric image of Viṣṇu as Vaikuṇṭha in the Lakṣmaṇa temple, and the sculptural frieze on the platform depicting scenes of everyday life - a hunt, a battle, a dancer conversing with a religious teacher; we note the superb proportions of the Kandariya Mahādeva, 'the rhythm of ascent and descent of its spires' echoing a mountain range; the

polished icon of Śāntinātha in the Jaina temple complex; and the magnificent deity in the Caturbhujā shrine, his face lit up by the rays of the setting sun. Desai concludes her account with a discussion of the on-going excavations of the Bijamaṇḍala mound, which, she suggests may be the lost Vaidyanātha Śiva temple, once the largest temple at Khajuraho.

Tulsi Vatsal

FROM THE IRANIAN PLATEAU TO THE SHORES OF GUJARAT : THE STORY OF PARSİ SETTLEMENTS AND ABSORPTION IN INDIA, MANI KAMERKAR and SOONU DHANJISHA, Allied Publishers Private Limited, Mumbai, 2002, pp. 220. Rs. 390.

The book is well-researched and comprehensive work on the Parsis written by two reputed and devoted historians for the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute. It traces the history of the Parsis from around 2000 BCE when they lived in the Margiana-Bactria region in Central Asia with the other Aryan speaking people, sharing a common language, religion and culture.

The authors have shown, after a painstaking study of the literary and archaeological sources, that even after the Aryans split into two groups - the Iranian Zoroastrians and the Indo-Aryans, they continued contacts through the next two thousand years. There was a continuous flow of the Zoroastrian Iranians into India who established their settlements in Northern and Western India. A flourishing trade existed between the ports of Gujarat and the Persian Gulf during the Sassanian period and traders of Gujarat knew the Irani Zoroastrians as friendly traders. As a result of these close relations between Iran and India, the authors argue that the Zoroastrians, who arrived in India after the Arab attack on the Sassanian Empire, were not total strangers to India. They contend that this was the main reason for their being accepted in India without any significant opposition.

The authors concede that it is very difficult to ascertain the exact date of the arrival of the Parsis but they agree with some Indian and Parsi scholars that the migration of Zoroastrians from Iran started probably around CE 670 and continued for about two centuries. This date they have accepted after identifying Jadi Rana of *Kisseh Sanjan* with the Maitraka king, Vajjada of the Vallabhi clan, who ruled southern Gujarat around CE 676. The Parsis probably came in groups, at different times and to different places, to escape persecution in Iran.

The Parsis settled as traders, farmers, carpenters and weavers and lived

peacefully and amicably in Sanjan and other coastal towns in Gujarat. Authors believe that the concept of ritual purity and other religious practices common to the Hindus and Parsis made Indians accept the Parsis as a caste group within their cultural and religious traditions and this helped the Parsis in maintaining their separate identity. Parsis adopted the Gujarati language and Indian dress. In Sanjan they built the first fire temple and installed the *Iranshah*, the sacred fire. The priests of Sanjan assumed the leadership of the Parsi community and became the keepers of its literary, religious and cultural traditions.

The most significant contribution of the book to the Parsi discourse and to the social history of Gujarat, is its in-depth study of the early Parsi settlements such as Sanjan, Navsari, Bharuch, Khambhat, and Surat. Each one is studied in its proper historical perspective. The book also describes the small Parsi settlement of Billimora in the vicinity of Navsari to show how the Parsis there kept close contact with the larger Parsi settlements and there existed a support system between them.

After the fall of Sanjan in the late fourteenth century, Navsari became the centre of Parsi religious and political leadership. Its religious importance increased from 1419 when the *Iranshah* was brought from Vandsa to Navsari. The Parsis of Navsari were prosperous and many Parsis possessed landed property. Parsis also held administrative posts such as *talatis*, *patels* and *desais*, this added to the status and security of the community. The authors have described at length the role of Meherjirana in Akbar's religious conferences and they believe that this must have increased the self-esteem of the Parsis and strengthened their sense of identity.

With the growth of Surat, and then of Bombay as centres of economic and commercial importance, Parsis began to migrate to these towns. The Parsis were a prosperous segment of Surat and had considerable clout with the authorities. They were master weavers, shipbuilders and brokers of the European trading companies. Rustom Manek was one such prominent broker whose career is discussed at length to show the dynamics of Parsi entrepreneurship.

The authors opine that the influence of the Parsis was felt on the mainstream of Indian life only from the 19th century when this small community took leadership in various fields such as industry, education, literature, journalism, theatre and politics. The authors have discussed at great length the role of the Parsis in the Freedom struggle and the social reform movement. A significant contribution of the book is its discussion on the role of the Parsi women in education, social reform, and politics.

The interesting and informative chapter of the book especially for the non-Parsis is 'Social and Religious Customs and Traditions' which describes

navjote or initiation ceremony for Parsi boys and girls, and other ceremonies such as marriage, funeral and purification. The authors show that the Parsis have adopted the auspicious emblems such as coconut, betel leaves, betel nut, kumkum mark on the forehead from the Hindus. However, many customs and ceremonies of the Parsis adhere to Iranian traditions. On the basis of historical evidence, the authors hold the view that mixed marriages and the conversion of children of mixed marriages did exist among the Zoroastrians both in Iran and India right upto the beginning of the twentieth century.

The authors have concluded the book by describing the role of the Parsis in the making of Bombay where they were pioneers and catalysts of change. The Parsis prospered in Bombay as businessmen, shipbuilders and later as industrialists and used their wealth in making Bombay a beautiful and better place. They also have discussed in great detail the role of the Parsis in education, literature, journalism, music and theatre. The authors have examined the vital role of this extremely small minority of the Parsis as an agent of social change which they describe 'a unique and historical phenomenon' and believe that this role has given them a tremendous sense of fulfillment and also a strong identity.

The book is based on an extensive research carried out in the libraries of Bombay, Ahmedabad, Navsari, Surat etc. where primary sources such as original *Farmans*, *Khatpatras* or Property deeds, the *Revayets* (the correspondence of the Parsis in India with the Irani Zoroastrians), colophons, travelogues, Muslim historical writings, and the early diaries of Jaina monks were examined. At the end of each chapter, informative bibliographic notes are given. However, the absence of the general bibliography at the end of the book is a lacuna in this erudite research work. The book is well illustrated with photographs and maps, substantiating the text. The book will be of great interest and value to scholars and general readers, both Parsis as well as non-Parsis.

Kunjilata N. Shah

PARTIES AND POLITICS AT THE MUGHAL COURT, 1707-1740, SATISH CHANDRA, Oxford University Press, 4th Edition, 2002, pp. xxvii + 354. Rs. 595.

This book, first printed in 1959, was designed to shift discussion on the fall of the Mughal empire from the acts of omission and commission of individuals, especially Aurangzeb, to the larger socio-economic and

institutional-administrative processes. The second aim of the study was to re-examine the role of the eighteenth century, particularly its first half, which for a long time was dismissed by many historians and scholars as a period of growing anarchy, decline of character and stagnation of culture. It also has been the author's aim to place religion in a broader social, economic and of course, political context. In the contemporary scenario, this aspect should have renewed and special significance for readers.

The second and third editions of the book were published in 1972 and 1979 respectively. Following them, there were several studies in which discussions on many of the issues raised were carried further. The works of Athar Ali, *Apparatus of Empire*, 1985, S. P. Gupta, *The Agrarian System of Eastern Rajasthan*, 1986, Muzaffar Alam, *The Crisis of the Mughal Empire*, 1986, Dilbagh Singh, *The State, Landlord and Peasants in Rajasthan during the 18th Century*, 1990 and Stewart Gordon, *The Marathas*, 1993, fall within this ambit. Thus, the character and composition of the Mughal nobility, the structure of rural society, the agrarian economy and its impact on the primary producer - the peasant, the role of dissidence such as that of the Marathas, the Rajputs, the Jats, the Afghans and the Sikhs have been subjected to critical study by a number of historians. However, this book still continues to carry weight, focusing critically and holistically as it does on these major issues.

In the fourth edition, Satish Chandra has carried forward the debate on the crisis of the *Jagirdari* System. There has been considerable discussion on this subject in the context of an explanation of the downfall of the Mughal empire. In recent studies, there has been a tendency to look on the *Jagirdari* crisis merely as a financial-cum-administrative crisis rather than a social crisis. J. F. Richard's contention that there was no *Jagirdari* crisis has been refuted by a number of scholars. Satish Chandra has argued that the working of the *Jagirdari* system has to be seen in the wider socio-political context. The *Jagirdari* system was designed to cope with a socio-political situation that was rapidly changing during the eighteenth century. While the system worked, it was able to keep in check the centrifugal forces represented by *Zamindars*, and promoted a centralized polity.

The symbiotic and contradictory relationship between the State and the *Zamindars* has been brought out some years ago by Nurul Hasan. The *Zamindars* in the Deccan might have reconciled to Mughal rule, and were willing to aid them in the tasks of revenue assessment and collection if the *Jagirdari* system had worked reasonably well and Mughal rule had been stable, for which a settlement with the Marathas was necessary. Under the successors of Aurangzeb, the roving Maratha bands had become too powerful to be contained, and imperial authority had weakened due to factionalism.

This led to further accentuation of the *Jagirdari* crisis.

It appears that Aurangzeb was living in "an unreal world of his own, increasingly losing touch with harsh reality." That the *Jagirdari* system had become dysfunctional has been hinted at by the chronicler Bhimsen. He points out that due to the smallness of the forces of the *Mansabdars* and *Faujders*, the *Zamindars* had become strong, and in this situation it was difficult for a *dam* or *darham* to reach the *Jagirdar*. Thus Bhimsen has underlined the social basis of the *Jagirdari* system. The system implied delegating to the *Jagirdars* the responsibility of collecting State dues from the *Zamindars* who were numerous, armed with their own bastions or *Garhis* and clan/caste followers among the cultivators. A graphic account of the suffering of the nobility, especially the *Khanazads*, i. e. sons and descendants of old nobles, due to lack of *Jagirs* is clearly projected by contemporary observers like Bhimsen as well as Khafi Khan.

The *Jagirdari* crisis grew apace in the eighteenth century. Satish Chandra links this crisis with the deepening social crisis and increasing factionalism in the ruling classes. He argues that the growing factionalism in the nobility was based on struggle for power, on the one hand, and, on the other, struggle for the possession of productive *Jagirs*.

The nobility as an institution played a very important role in the growth, organization, socio-cultural life, and ultimately, the downfall of the Mughal empire. The book concentrates on the role of the nobility in the downfall of the Mughal empire, with special reference to the position of various ethnic and religious groups in the nobility after Aurangzeb's death. The study has been terminated at 1740, as the Mughal empire no longer commanded a pan-India importance after that date.

A substantial part of the work concentrates on the struggle for *Wizarat*. Though brief, the reign of Jahandar Shah (1712-1713) marked the emergence of several significant tendencies to the surface. Firstly, it demonstrated that in the prevailing chaotic conditions, the only alternative to an all-powerful king was an all-powerful *Wazir*. The book provides a detailed account of the *Wizarat* of Zulfiqar Khan. There was an abandonment of Aurangzeb's policies; for instance, the *jizyah* was abolished, major concessions were made to the Rajputs, and an attempt was made to maintain and extend accord with the Marathas. It would appear that Zulfiqar Khan was trying to revive the liberal traditions of Akbar, and to develop a composite ruling class in the country. The author has also focused on the role of the Saiyid brothers, who wielded power during 1713-1721.

The book under review consists of ten chapters and two appendices, viz. a document to illustrate the early relations of the Saiyids and the Rajputs,

and documents concerning the early relations of the Rajputs and the Marathas. A very useful addendum is a detailed chronology of events stretching from 1707, when Aurangzeb died, to 1739, when Nadir Shah left Delhi. However, in the Preface to the fourth edition, a more detailed discussion and analysis by the author on the military and technological challenges faced by the Mughals in the eighteenth century would have been of value.

The publication, being of the Oxford University Press, is well designed and well presented. But it is somewhat surprising to discover typographical errors, as on p. xvii, (Stewart Gordan for Stewart Gordon) and p. 31, (Sadesai for Sardesai).

In all, the book is an authoritative exposition of the character and role of the nobility after the death of Aurangzeb, and the political trends of the eighteenth century. This competent and profusely documented study, now in its fourth edition, is of immense value to serious scholars. It is essential to note, as Satish Chandra has taken care to underline, that the exclusionist policies associated with the name of Aurangzeb lasted only for a short time. In the 197 years of Mughal rule, *jizyah* was collected only for 57 years. The dominant picture of the eighteenth century is not of the Hindus and the Muslims forming antagonistic groups but of their co-operating in cultural affairs and social life, and of a remarkable absence of sectarian passions from political conflicts.

Ruby Maloni

INDIA IN 1872 - AS SEEN BY THE SIAMESE, SACHCHIDANAND SAHAI, B. R. Publishing Corporation (A Division of BRDC (India) Ltd.), 2002, pp. xx + 446, photographs 26, maps 9. Rs. 1000.

Set in India in the year 1872, this book relates and analyses a little-known event - the 47 day visit to India by King Chulalongkorn of Thailand (Siam).

This visit, which has gone unnoticed - like 'some sort of footnote' - both by Thai and Indian historians, had, as the author explains 'far-reaching consequences in reshaping the course of Siamese history.'

It was the first time that a Thai king had ever set foot out of the shores of his native country; and although the 47 days were filled with receptions, balls, and other entertainment, it was no mere sightseeing tour. By 1872, the British were masters of the whole of India, and had expanded their rule over most of Burma and Malaysia as well. The French, meanwhile, had secured

control over large parts of Indo-China (Vietnam, Cambodia) and were on the lookout for more lands to conquer. So far, Thailand had avoided subjugation, and the British were anxious to retain the country as neutral territory between British and French dominions, while securing as much political and economic influence over it as possible. King Chulalongkorn for his part was equally anxious to keep on good terms with the British. (His father had lost sovereignty over Cambodia to the French.) He also wanted to understand contemporary political, military and economic developments that had taken place in India with a view to introducing them in his own kingdom.

The book under review is based on a study of all the available archival materials in the seven cities visited by the Siamese King in India, as well as in the India Office Library, since the only material available in Thailand is a brief handwritten account of the king's travels by an unknown author. Prof. Sahai has supplemented this material by visits to sites and interviews of descendants of the Indians he met. The result is a vivid picture of India at the time of the royal visit and an analysis of its wider significance.

The book is divided into two parts. The first offers an analysis of the visit by placing it in a global context (Chapter 1). Apart from a detailed description of the 47 day tour (Chapter 3), special chapters are devoted to the War Game in Delhi and its military implications (Chapter 6), the king's visit to Buddhist sites (Chapter 8), and the aftermath of the tour (Chapter 10).

The second section provides extensive extracts from various newspapers and publications, both British and Indian, including *The Siam Repository* published from Bangkok. As the text in the first part is largely presented through extensive quotations from the same sources, this methodology involves a certain amount of repetition. However, the use of contemporary sources not only enables the reader to get a first-hand view of what King Chulalongkorn did and saw in India, but also provides a fascinating glimpse of the actual workings of colonial power.

The British grip on India was largely maintained by the force of the army, which had been strengthened and thoroughly re-organized after 1857. But there were other 'softer' though no less effective means of impressing their subjects with the might of the empire. These included construction of grandiose public buildings, and the awe-inspiring pomp and ceremony surrounding government officials and functions. In addition were subtle ways of reinforcing the belief that the natives were inferior morally, culturally, and even physically. For instance, while '*The Indian Public Opinion & Public Times*' admitted that King Chulalongkorn was 'modest and self-possessed', it added condescendingly that his brothers looked 'very nice, like a pleasant lot of school boys.' And when the royal group preferred Mr. Gregory's circus to the Italian opera,

the paper remarked: 'it was evident that the entertainment was more germane to the royal tastes than was the magnificent opera', adding that the princes at least had had 'the good sense to... tuck up their tiny legs, and go to sleep like good sensible little men' during the performance of *Faust*.

As the author discusses in Chapter 5 (Diplomacy of Seven Steps), the British bent over backwards to please the Thai king. He was treated to a series of lavish receptions, balls, and parties. A huge reception was organized at Government House on his arrival in Calcutta: the Viceroy, Lord Mayo met the king at the top of the grand staircase - but he failed to advance seven steps to receive the king. This lapse in protocol offended the Thais, but Lord Napier, C-in-C of the army, amply made amends in Delhi when he took special precautions to advance twelve steps to greet the king.

King Chulalongkorn was taken to the Lucknow Zoo and the Sanskrit College in Benaras. He was shown the Taj Mahal and the Elephanta Caves. A visit to various Buddhist holy sites was organized. (Long-forgotten Buddhist monuments were just beginning to be excavated and restored, and the disappointed king saw very little at the Deer Park in Sarnath except the Dhamekh stupa, which was 'overgrown with trees.' Nevertheless, the stupa served as a model for two stupas erected later in Thailand.) The royal party spent several happy hours at Mr. Treacher's shop in Bombay, where they were offered a variety of articles of European manufacture. But while no effort was spared to please the king, the British made sure that he grasped the advantages of doing business with British firms to industrialize and modernize his country. So King Chulalongkorn travelled on a special train of the East Indian Railway across the country. He was shown the Royal Mint (built in Grecian-Doric style), the Cossipore foundry, and the Water Filtration Plant in Calcutta where thousands of gallons of filtered water was assured to the six million residents of the city through a 42-inch iron main; and he was taken on a tour of the dockyard and new lighthouse in Bombay.

He was also made to witness the War Games in Delhi, where a great military spectacle - a battle to defend the Ridge of Delhi - was enacted. It was a scene in which 'every spot (was) associated with recollections of victory' of 1857; and 'there was a sufficient display of guns, sabres and musketes to make His Majesty of Siam wonder' (*The Englishman*).

The efforts of the British officials bore the desired fruit. And by the end of his trip King Chulalongkorn became 'subconsciously prepared to place himself completely in the British fold in his domestic and international politics', and to use British 'capital and brains' to work the coal, lead and tin mines, and to build the canals and railroads of Thailand.

In the final chapter of the first section, The Aftermath, Prof. Sahai tells

us how, as a result of his Indian tour, the King undertook 'reforms of far-reaching consequence' in his country. It is therefore disappointing that the author does not go into greater detail regarding the changes the King introduced as a result of his experiences in India, and the main political and economic events of his reign. The lengthy description of the radical Young Bengal movement in Chapter 9 and its probable connection with the reformist Young Siam party started by the King is rather tenuous, and the King's reforms are dealt with summarily. All we are told is that the first railroad in Thailand was constructed in 1893, that the War Games greatly influenced King Chulalongkorn's military reforms, and that British influence was firmly established in Thailand - a trade treaty was signed, the majority of the King's advisers were now British, and English became the only foreign language that the Thais learnt. A more detailed analysis would have resulted in a more rounded book.

The book contains 26 plates, including a rare group photograph of the Thai delegation. It is a pity that the quality of paper and printing does not do these photographs sufficient justice. It is also a pity that not enough care was taken to copy-edit the manuscript, resulting in a number of unnecessary typographical errors.

Tulsi Vatsal

ANCIENT INDIAN PORTS, (with Special Reference to Maharashtra), SHARAD HEBALKAR, Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers, New Delhi, 2001. pp. xiv + 175, Maps 7, Photographs 23. Rs. 400.

Given the long coast-line of India and enough convincing evidence of her links across seas with distant lands, it is surprising that maritime history of India has attracted little attention of scholars. At the height of nationalist upsurge when history played its major motivating force, the first modern study of Indian ocean was authored by R. K. Mookerji way back in 1912 followed subsequently by K. M. Pannikar's *India and the Indian Ocean* in 1945. However, the standard history of the Indian ocean with required conceptual framework and analytical approach came in post-colonial time from Auguste Toussaint in 1961 and translated from French in 1966. He alongwith M. Mollat strengthened the structure of *International Historical Association of the Indian Association* founded in 1960.

Against this background, the book of Sharad Hebalkar might appear a welcome addition to the field, more so, because of its apparent focus on ancient times as reflected in the title. Unfortunately, it fails to fulfil even our

legitimate expectations from a work appearing in the new millennium having benefitted from the field exploration of last half-a-century.

Dedicated to mythical sage-sailor Agasti (mark phonetic similarity to Auguste), the book is divided into seven chapters including an epilogue at the end, equipped with 7 maps and 23 illustrations. In form and content, the opening chapter is 'Survey' of sources, classified into Indigenous literature, Greek and Roman sources, Chinese and Arab sources, Archaeological sources, subdivided into Inscriptions, Rock-cut monuments and sculptures, structural stone temples and sculptures, Numismatic sources, and Exploration, done by the author, in course of which he studied ghat-routes and interviewed people from the communities associated with navigational activity. The area of study is defined western coast of Maharashtra (four districts of Thane, Raigad, Ratnagiri and Sindhudurg) and "the period covered under the study counts from about 3500 B. C. to thirteenth century A. D. classified under the Proto-historic period and the Historic period." (p. 2). Accordingly, chapters 3 and 4 deal with these periods but in view of the primary object being ports rather than ocean, the remaining chapters deal with Geography, Sociology and general description of important Ports and some inland trading centres. Ports and trading centres such as Agashi, Kalyan, Sopara, Chaul, Mahad, Dabhol, etc. are described. Appendix 1 at the end contains the account of the interviews with some aged and experienced navigators - Mr. Dharmaji Pandurang Tandel (p. 160), Appasaheb Raghunath Sarang (p. 161) and Mr. Bhima Dharma Ambire (p. 162). In Appendix 2 temple deities associated with migrant communities have been listed district-wise which the author visited in course of his field-work. However, it is not very clear how the data collected from interviews could be applied with even modicum of validity to the maritime history of region going back to fourth millennium BCE or even early historic times, except by way of assumption that life in Konkan has remained unchanged through the ages from the dawn of civilization.

The real content and character of the book can be located in such categorical statements as given below:

"The Indians seem to have commanded the sea-routes of the world in the fourth millennium B. C. The Sun-worshippers of India seem to have used Egypt as a base with On, Anu or Helipolis, the city of the Sun having been their capital. Spain seems to have provided a western base for them in the pre-dynastic times." (p. 1) "It is believed that the first literature of the world belongs to the Indians. This first ancient human wisdom gives us an excellent account of the sea-traveller Bhujyu, and we can imagine how long the Aryans would have been sailing to acquire such a scientific marine knowledge in the Age of the *Rigveda*." (p. 2). "The merchants

fully knew the principle of investment and they travelled with the purpose of trading in the distant lands. They invested freely and their interests were guarded against the risk by the institution of 'Vaiśvānara', a sort of insurance corporation" (this is about Ṛgvedic period, (p. 39). "In fact the Neolithic Age seems to have undergone maritime revolution. They were people either Dravidians or Cretans, Sumerians or Egyptians or Phoenicians who explored the oceans, innovated the ships and promoted overseas contacts. They were perhaps the most accomplished astronomers, metallurgists, mathematicians and shipbuilders of their day." (p. 40).

Slightly later all these epoch-making achievements are transferred to an anonymous Indian who discovered the monsoon in proto-historic period. Thus runs the almost poetic eulogy of the anonymous discoverer :

"To say that the man, who prepared a floating and travelling instrument for him, invented an accurate astronomy by observing with his naked eyes for years and years, who laid the foundation of the present civilised world, erected again and again great Indian cities, built houses, palaces, bridges, roads; who developed the languages, created the literature which still guides in the last quarter of the present twentieth century... did not study the monsoon and use the sail would be the underestimation of contemporary man! (pp. 41-42).

However, the author confesses a little later, "Unfortunately we do not know the rulers, their kingdoms, their exploits and grandiose in the Proto-historic Age." (p. 42).

The book is replete with such claims as when it proclaims "the whole of the coastal strip of Konkan was inhabited by the Aryans who came by the sea route", the basis being a Marathi source.

Sober history the book is obviously not, it cannot qualify to be categorized under mythology as well, though more than half of its source material is corpus of Indian myths. From the bibliography, the author appears to be familiar with standard works of ancient Indian history; but one wishes he had followed their perspectives and methodology to a more rigorous degree.

K. K. Shah

KAUṬILYA ARTHAŚĀSTRA REVISITED, SURENDRA NATH MITTAL, Centre for Studies in Civilizations, New Delhi, 2000. pp. 147. Rs. 225.

The name Kauṭilya has always given rise to a number of fanciful legends in Indian history and folklore. His name is connected with different episodes and his philosophy has been viewed from different angles. Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*, the *magnum opus* on the art of the government, contains an account of almost every activity of the state. The discovery and its subsequent publication of text in 1909 has created an unprecedented excitement among the scholars. Its authorship and date have intrigued them, and its contents have fascinated them.

When the text of the *Arthaśāstra* was discovered and published by Shamastry, there was a great furore in literary and history circles. The discovery of the original text undoubtedly enriched our knowledge, but it also fuelled the controversy regarding the authorship and the date of the text. Kauṭilya's name is linked with many fanciful stories. According to tradition he was a great scholar during the age of the Nandas. Insulted by the Nanda King Mahāpadma he had vowed to put an end to the despotic rule and establish Candragupta, his able student, as the king. He fulfilled his vow and Candragupta acquired the throne in 321 BCE or thereabouts. So the date of the text is assumed to be approximately the third century BCE or the end of the fourth century BCE. This view is accepted by scholars like Shamastry, J. F. Fleet, H. Jacobi, K. P. Jayaswal, D. R. Bhandarkar, P. V. Kane and others. The traditional view is contested by scholars like J. Jolly, M. Winternitz, A. B. Keith and others.

The present book is a useful addition to the literature on the authorship and date of the *Arthaśāstra*. The author considers three issues for determining them: (1) the relationship of Cāṇakya and Candragupta Maurya and their overthrowing the Nandas, (2) whether Cāṇakya, Viṣṇugupta and Kauṭilya were the same person; and (3) whether Kauṭilya wrote a treatise on politics. He argues convincingly to prove that Kauṭilya, Cāṇakya and Viṣṇugupta were different names of the same person, who helped Candragupta to secure the throne and who wrote the *Arthaśāstra* in the fourth century BCE. He presents his arguments with the support of the traditions, *Nītisāra*, *Mudrārākṣasa*, *Kathāsaritsāgara*, *Daśakumāra-carita*, *Pañcatantra*, Purāṇas, Buddhist and Jain literature and also the evidence of Kauṭilya himself in the text of the *Arthaśāstra*.

The author further examines the arguments put forward by the scholars like Jolly, Keith, Winternitz and Stein against the date of the *Arthaśāstra* in the fourth century BCE by placing them in four groups; firstly Kauṭilya is a legendary figure; secondly even if such a person existed, the text was never written by him; thirdly the treatise was not written during the reign

of Candragupta Maurya (i.e. the fourth century BCE); and fourthly the *Arthaśāstra* was written in the third century CE. The author provides logical answers to all these arguments by citing different authorities. He maintains that if a writer is silent about some fact or event or idea, it does not mean non-existence of such fact or event or idea. Doubts about some later additions are also removed. The proposition put forward by Hillebrandt and supported by Keith and Winternitz that the *Arthaśāstra* is not the work of Kauṭilya but of a school is also answered convincingly. The author has ably examined issues like geographical horizon of the writer of the *Arthaśāstra*, discrepancies between the *Arthaśāstra* and Megasthenes' *Indica*, absence of Kauṭilya's name in *Indica*, development of metallurgy and mining, knowledge of alchemy, names of some places, date of Vatsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra*, the work of Patañjali and co-relation between the word *Surāṅga* and the Greek word *Syrinx*.

The author of the book under review also deals with the argument put forward by some Western scholars that the dating of the *Arthaśāstra* by the Indian scholars in the early period is motivated by patriotism, especially during the pre-Independence period. As a response to the arguments of the Indian scholars against assigning of the date of the composition of the *Arthaśāstra* to the third century CE., Basham inspired some scholars to prove the date of the *Arthaśāstra* in a scientific way with the help of the computer. Subsequently Thomas R. Trautmann completed a project on this line through statistical analysis of the text.

The second part of the book under review deals with Trautmann's analysis. Trautmann maintains that the *Arthaśāstra* is not the work of a single author and belongs to a much later date than the fourth century BCE. He makes use of statistics and supports his conclusion by the use of *ca* and *va* in the text. The author by elaborating the data shows that the difference in the use of *ca* and *va* is based on context and not on authorship, and that Trautmann's statistics fails when he deals with either the *Arthaśāstra* (as his Books are not grouped according to his statistics) or his Control Material whether from works in prose or verse. This is so either because the work of one author shows significant difference in its different portions (Kālidāsa, Gaṇeśa, Somadeva and the two samples of Book 7 of the *Arthaśāstra*) or because the statistics refuse to demonstrate significant difference in the works of two authors (fails to distinguish Kālidāsa and Bhāravi from Bilhaṇa or Kalhaṇa from Jonarāja). Thereafter the author answers Trautmann's argument that Kauṭilya was not the original writer of the *Arthaśāstra* (he might have been editor). He does so by reexamining the question of the (text's) division into chapters and the issue of terminal verses.

The book reflects the meticulous work put by the author in his work. It is a welcome addition to the literature on ancient India, and will be of

interest to scholars, because the debate on the date and authorship of the *Arthaśāstra* has continued for a long time, and promises to continue.

Usha Thakkar

DUTCH MASTERS FROM INDIAN COLLECTIONS, Catalogue of the exhibition "400 years Indo-Dutch Partnership, Sharing a Future", 2002, published by Centre for Media and Alternative Communication, New Delhi. 101 pages and colour plates.

An exhibition of 17th century Dutch masters, organized jointly by Indian museums, government authorities and Indian and Dutch experts, showed in the National Museum of Delhi, Karnataka Chitrakala Parishad, Bangalore and Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj Vastu Sangrahalaya, Mumbai in 2002-2003. The collection included newly restored paintings from museums in Baroda and Mumbai under the expert guidance of the renowned restorer Anne Van Grevestein from Netherlands. The catalogue illustrates this travelling exhibition that showcases works of art bought by the Maharaja Sayaji Rao Gaekwad III and by Sir Ratan Tata.

This tastefully designed book begins with a Foreword by His Excellency P. F. C. Koch, The Ambassador of the Netherlands to India and is followed by an Introduction by one of the curators Anne Van Grevenstein. A brief but succinct history of the Netherlands and the Development of the Art of Painting in the Netherlands by Bernard Vermet is informative and indispensable to truly appreciate the catalogue that it precedes. The exquisite colour plates of the 29 paintings included in the exhibition are better explained with short notes that shed light on the painter, his technique and the content of the painting.

Let us hope that Indo-Dutch collaboration in restoration will continue and bloom forth into more such exhibitions and even more beautiful catalogues.

Vidya Vençatesan

THE LAMP AND THE JAR: Essays by KRISHNA RAYAN: Edited by KRISHNA S. ARJUNWADKAR. Published by: Sahitya Akademi, Ravindra Bhavan, 35 Ferozeshah Road, New Delhi 110001, 2002. Pp. 255. Rs. 130.

This is a collection of 24 well thought articles published in various academic journals and books, during the last three decades. These are penned by Prof. Krishna Rayan who had been teaching English Literature, both in Indian and foreign universities. He also studied oriental literature and is well acquainted with Sanskrit poetics. The editor of the compilation is Prof. Krishna S. Arjunwadkar, a widely acclaimed Sanskritist and a scholar in linguistics. The volume is an outcome of Prof. Arjunwadkar's appreciation of Prof. Rayan's writings over the years. The original essays, possibly were elaborate. What we get here are the edited versions of these essays. The choice of the selection of the essays was perhaps of the editor. Both the author and the editor are close friends for over four decades, because of their common interest in literary appreciation.

The volume opens with an excellent essay titled '*Rasa Dhvani* and Present Day Literary Theory and Criticism.' The author analyses here, the pertinent remarks of two winners of Sahitya Akademi awards (1984) viz. Shri Ramanlal Joshi and Shri Shivarudrappa. American literary theories have been reassessed here *vis a vis* the age-old theories of Sanskrit rhetoricians and aestheticians. The author observes certain lacunae in ancient Sanskrit theories and suggests rectification. He also finds Russian Formalism of the twenties of the last century, more dominant in European circles, which influenced subsequently Indian literary thought. The author suggests that the traditional Indian theories should open themselves to the fresh thoughts that are displayed in recent European and American literature. Such a revision of old theories is bound to benefit literary studies.

Another important article is titled 'Literary Theory and Indian Critical Practice'. This was written way back in 1988 and it expresses, in a nutshell, author's insight in Poetics. According to the author, what makes a text a literary one is its successful generation of readers' responses through the activity of its objective verbal structures. The author emphasizes the need for resorting to Indian Poetics in the context of the European Romantic Theory. The upsurge of the Sanskrit studies during the early part of the twentieth century, triggered by the writings of A. Coomaraswamy, A. Hiriyanna, S. K. De, P. V. Kane, V. Raghavan, D. H. Ingalls, and a host of other writers augured well for such a reassessment of the earlier theories in the context of the world literature. The ancient writings on *Dhvani* and *Rasa* are the principal universals of literature, world over.

There are interesting articles on '*Lakṣaṇa* - Metaphoric and Metanomic' and also on - '*Lakṣaṇa* - and Deconstruction.' One article is titled 'Object-Emotion Relationship in Indian and Western Literary Theories.' The article 'Making a Theory' is based on author's works produced during the seventies and eighties.

He finds himself vindicated by the writings of other aestheticians during this period.

There are a few essays that deal with the examination of Indian writings in English on the literary scales of Indian critical traditions. The works of Nirad Chaudhury and Jayanta Mahapatra have been evaluated and opinions of other critics have been considered. One essay exclusively deals with 'Plays of Shakespeare.'

All these essays are an intellectual feast to a reader, if he is especially interested in Poetics, be he an oriental or occidental reader. On going through all these essays, such a reader will find himself elevated with his literary concepts made more refined. Both Krishnas, the author and the editor, have jointly contributed to the development of literary concepts and deserve unstinted appreciation.

The title of the book '*The Lamp and The Jar*' is drawn from Ānandavardhana's analogy with regard to suggested sense and the editor has explained its significance in the preface. The editor is happy that 'he sowed the seeds of Sanskrit Poetics in the fertile mind of his friend' and the result is the bountiful harvest that is bound to benefit litterateurs, all over the world.

The printing, paper and the get up of the volume are excellent and Sahitya Akademi deserves full compliments for the same.

N. B. Patil

INDIAN TERRACOTTA SCULPTURE, THE EARLY PERIOD, Ed. PRATAPADITYA PAL, 99 pages, Colour and Black & White photographs, Marg Publications, Mumbai, 2002, Rs. 2250.

There are not many comprehensive publications on Indian terracottas or baked clay figurines that deal with various aspects of this interesting medium whose history goes back to the dawn of civilization on the subcontinent. Pratapaditya Pal, distinguished art historian and General Editor of *Marg*, has assembled seven essays from experts in the field on various aspects of early Indian terracotta art beginning with protohistoric terracottas of Harappa culture to those produced in different regions of India between 3rd century BCE and 6th century CE. In his Introduction Pal gives an overview and a brief background of the published works on the subject, starting with works of Ananda Coomaraswamy, Stella Kramrisch, O. C. Gangoly, C. C. Dasgupta, Pupul

Jayakar and others. It is heartening to read here his mention of the present reviewer's contribution on the relationship of terracotta with the urban cultures of early India. While discussing the contents of the articles in the book, Pal says that the purpose of the book is to throw new light on the ongoing investigations into the art of terracotta in a chronological framework, which the book succeeds in achieving.

In the first essay, the well-known archaeologist Dilip Chakrabarti while giving the background of the protohistoric terracottas of northwestern India and Pakistan says that there is no "dark age" between the Harappan civilization and the later "Early Historic" growth of the Ganga plains and elsewhere. He observes that Harappan civilization is not an isolated or disjointed development in the course of Indian history. The terracotta figures too have their continuity over the centuries. Chakrabarti questions the identifications of many of the female figurines of Harappan sites as mother goddesses, though he agrees that those from the Deccan sites of Daimabad and Inamgaon could be cult figures.

The Nilgiri hill terracottas from South Indian Megalithic burials, having a different cultural background, are a subject of the next essay by Corinna Wessels-Mevissen. These burial figurines were excavated in 19th century by German and British scholars and are mainly preserved in the museums in Berlin, London and Chennai. The surviving examples are generally parts of pottery lids and date between 3rd century BCE - 3rd century CE. Some of these such as the human figure seated on a three-legged stool (Fig.7) and the buffalo head are powerful creations.

John Siudmak discusses the terracottas of Taxila, Charsadda and other sites, taking us to the urban culture of the northwest region of 300 BCE to 60 CE. The author examines both Indian and the Hellenistic influences on the terracottas excavated by Sir Mortimer Wheeler and Sir John Marshall.

Naman Ahuja investigates terracottas from the Indo-Gangetic divide of the Early Historic period 200 BCE to 50 CE. Geographical position of this region helped it to transmit influences between centres of the Ganga-Yamuna Doab (Mathura) and the region west of the Indus (Taxila, Gandhara). Emphasizing that an analysis of the excavated finds must be supplemented with an art historical method, he presents some impressive pieces from Sugh, Ropar and Agroha. His analysis of the moulded terracotta plaque from Sugh, depicting a child writing Brāhmī syllabary, is interesting. It is noteworthy that twenty similar pieces lie scattered in public and private collections. One in the Boston Museum, whose provenance was not known when Ananda Coomaraswamy collected the piece in 1927, can now be assigned to Sugh.

Ashok K. Bhattacharya's essay on terracottas of Bengal takes us into

the world of sophisticated figurines of the Śuṅga and Kuṣāṇa periods, concentrating on Chandraketugarh, a most prolific terracotta producing site near Kolkata, and also Tamluk, Mangalkot and Bangarh. He discusses their salient technical and formal characteristics, and takes up their study from the thematic and stylistic points. He says that the strength of the terracotta art of Bengal region is not so much in its unique examples as in its remarkable diversity. The detailed and elaborate treatment of ornaments, apparel and coiffure in Bengal, particularly Chandraketugarh, terracottas is impressive.

The art of the terracottas of the Gangetic Valley of the Kuṣāṇa period is the subject of article by Samir Kumar Mukherjee, where we see themes of the newly emerging Purāṇic deities such as Mahiṣāsūramardīnī, Saptamātrkāś, and also the Headless Nude Goddess, along with the secular themes such as that of the *nāgaraka*, the city dweller. Both moulded and hand-modelled pieces are found in this period.

Rekha Morris's refreshing article on the Gupta period terracottas of Padmāvafī (Pawaya) in Madhya Pradesh adds to the value of the present volume. After M. B. Garde's excavation reports on the site in 1915, 1924 and later, these terracottas lying in the glass case of the Gwalior Museum have not received the attention they deserve. In 1982, Joanna Williams in her publication on the Gupta art has discussed Pawaya and its art, and illustrated one terracotta horse-rider and the sandstone lintel of the gateway, but an extensive study of Pawaya terracottas is done for the first time in the Marg volume. Rekha Morris has also researched on the fragment of the sandstone lintel lying in the reserved collection of the Gwalior Museum and identified the scene as representing Kārttikeya along with the wives of the six *ṛṣis*. The terracotta female figures of Pawaya have stylistic similarity with stone lintel figures.

The Marg volume thus presents a rich repertoire of terracottas from protohistoric times to 6th century CE, however, with an omission of the studies on the Maurya terracottas from Patna and Buxar (though their photographs are published with Pal's Introduction) and on the Sātavāhana terracottas from the Deccan. As Pal hopes, the book will serve as a general introduction to the subject for the scholarly community as well as a non-specialist readership.

Devangana Desai

OBITUARY NOTICES

Durga Bhagwat

(1910 - 2002)

Ms. Durga Bhagwat, who passed away on May 7, 2002, at the age of 92, was an outstanding scholar, a versatile writer, well-known Anthropologist, fearless freedom fighter and a Gandhian ideologist and humanist to the core. It is indeed difficult to capture her versatility in few words.

Born in Indore on 10th February, 1910, she finished her schooling in Nashik and moved to Bombay. She joined St. Xavier's College and passed her B. A. in 1932 in First Class with English and Sanskrit as her special subjects. It was during this period that she had to study the treatise of Shankara. Shankara had propounded that there existed two levels of understanding. At the lower level of understanding there exists God and at the higher level there exists no God. How could there be a duality in understanding ? This disturbed her and even affected her health. The question enveloped her from all sides. A severe attack of fever followed. This also was the beginning of her journey in search of truth. She turned to the study of Buddhism and chose 'Buddhist Jurisprudence' for dissertation for her Masters. This book was published in 1938.

The study of Buddhism had not answered her question. Her search continued and this time she turned her attention to the lowest of the low - the tribals. She chose to work on 'Synthesis of Hindu and Tribal Cultures in the Central Provinces'. For six long years she lived and worked in the most dangerous and difficult tribal belt of Madhya Pradesh. She worked with tireless zeal, befriended the Adivasis and collected valuable material first hand. Unfortunately, however, she suffered very severe food poisoning, which completely brought her doctoral work to a standstill. In addition, she also could not comply with the requirement to earn her Ph. D. degree. Yet, however, her book on the subject brought her international recognition as an outstanding Anthropologist. During her long years in bed, she watched from her window the changing cycle of seasons. She saw each season bringing its own shades and sound in its wake. Her keen observant eyes and ears, imbibed colours of flora and fauna, sound of birds, animals and even breeze and thunder. She captured it all in words. Durgabai's 'Rutuchakra', published in 1956, is unparalleled in Marathi literature. It is indeed a masterpiece.

For quarter of a century from 1950-1975, Durgabai produced some excellent literary pieces. Her critical essays on epic characters of *Mahabharata* entitled 'Vyasaparva' provided new insight into the epic characters (published in 1962). Her other collections of essays are also well-known and among them are 'Bhavamudra', 'Doob', 'Prasangika', 'Poorva', and 'Pais.'

Her interest in the study of Buddhism as well as Sanskrit remained till the very end. Only she could venture to undertake in her 70's to translate Banabhatta's 'Kadambari' and even wrote a long preface. This was published in 1988. Thereafter, she undertook yet another gigantic project. Durgabai translated from the original Simhalese, the 'Divyavadana', the Jataka stories which run into multi volumes. Marathi translations of original Pali works were published in the late 1990's. Her long stay in the tribal belt had kindled interest in folklore and folk art and she delved deep into the subject and made seminal contribution by writing highly researched books. Her books in Marathi 'Lokasahityachi Rooparesha', 'Tulshiche Lagna', and 'Ranzara', 'Riddles in Indian Folklore' (1956) and 'Outlines of Indian Folklore' (1958) have come to be accepted as reference material.

Her two monographs, one on 'Bear' or 'Aswal' in Marathi and the other on 'Kadamba Tree' reflected her deep understanding of nature and flora and fauna. Her books on folklore have inspired many other scholars of today to do further research in the subject and her books serve as beacon light to them.

It's a little known fact that she had a two-year stint at the Gokhale Institute of Economics in Pune. This was her first and last job. Here she studied the problems faced by the prostitutes, tamasha artists, dombaris, and listening to their tales of woe disturbed her immensely. It was not surprising, therefore, that she took a lead in organising a benefit tamasha show in the Town Hall in aid of a well-known ailing aged Tamasha artist in dire straits. Her heart always remained with the downtrodden, the neglected, the underprivileged and other exploited persons in the society. She supported their cause by speaking against such exploitation in public and writing in newspapers. This affection for the underprivileged came to her because of her intense faith in Gandhian ideology and Gandhian humanism. She not only imbibed the ideology but also practised it. She lived a simple life, worked hard with tireless zeal, spoke and wrote with fearlessness, just the qualities linked with Mahatma Gandhi.

It was in 1975 that her qualities as a true Gandhian came to be tested. The state of Emergency had been declared in the country. Democratic rights had been curtailed and free expression had been stifled. Durgabai as a matter of principle opposed it by writing and lecturing against Emergency. As the President of the Marathi Sahitya Sammelana during the same year in Karad

she used the powerful platform of writers and scholars to urge the writers to fight for free expression and restoration of democracy. She was jailed as a result. She was perhaps the first writer who played the role of the spokesperson and her contribution is remembered even today.

Asiatic Society was Durgabai's second home for 65 years. Her knowledge of the valuable holdings of the Society was amazing and she made fruitful use of them. She strongly supported the cause of bifurcation from the Central Library.

She occupied the same corner table in the Reference Room where she sat for years from morning till late evening delving into books. Buried between huge tomes, she would work with tremendous concentration until it was time for lunch. She always carried a lunch box with plenty of simple, tasty home cooked food - all cooked by herself that could feed all her friends around. She never ate alone. I had had the privilege of sharing many meals and I still feel that simple bhakari and zunka could not be made more tasty. If I asked what was that special ingredient she had added for that special taste, her answer was simple - "I put a bit of my heart into all my cooking." So long as she continued her regular visits to the Library, the vestibule reverberated with her sound and canteen of the Asiatic Society remained a busy bustling centre for not only the tasty meals generously served by Durgabai but also for fiery arguments on the subject of the day. Often she would be seen holding fort amidst people and we even called it 'Vestibule Sabha' in lighter vein.

She knew the generic names of the plants and the trees. Often we would go round the Horniman Circle and she would explain the significance of each tree and its characteristics. That was a good exercise in botany. Her fingers were dexterous. She could do excellent embroidery and had collected many patterns from the tribal belt and anything that captured her attention, became a matter of study for her.

Many of her books won awards. They brought her fame and name. She shunned Government honours including 'Padmashree' awarded by the Central Government. It was her firm belief that if you accept anything from the Government then you become a puppet in their hands. When Asiatic Society decided to revive the scheme of Conferment of Honorary Fellowship on outstanding scholars in early 1990's, Durgabai came to meet Dr. D. R. SarDesai, the then President of the Society, to recommend a well-known historian's name for the honour. Dr. SarDesai agreed, but on the condition that she herself accepted the Honorary Fellowship and she happily agreed to accept the honour from the Society. Her acceptance speech was very moving.

She was ailing for the last few years of her life and she stopped coming

to the Library. However, she has left pleasant memories of her warmth and affection. The discussions in the vestibule led by her will remain etched in our memory for a long time. She carried her scholarship and learning with modesty which is very rare. Durgabai's name became synonymous with the Asiatic and even though she is no more in our presence, the memory of the age old days well remain etched in our memory.

Vimal Shah

Dr. A. M. Ghatage

(1913 - 2003)

Recently in May, 2003, Dr. A. M. Ghatage breathed his last in Pune. The passing away of this scholar of worldwide fame was, generally speaking, not taken note of as it should have been, by the media. Dr. Ghatage himself, however, was throughout his life totally indifferent to any publicity or popularity.

He was a recognised scholar of Sanskrit, Pali, Prakrit and Linguistics. He had won international fame by his outstanding work in the field of Prakrit, Sanskrit Language, Grammar, Linguistics and Lexicography. He was earnest and serious by temperament. He was known to the scholarly world for his deep devotion to work, sincerity of purpose and tremendous industry.

Amrit Ghatage was born on August 10, 1913 at Hasurchampu, a small village in the district of Kolhapur. He studied at the Rajaram College, Kolhapur. He passed his B. A. in 1932 in First Class and M. A. in 1934 with Prakrit and Pali also in First Class. In 1936 he again took the M. A. degree with Sanskrit and English, also obtaining First Class. He worked for his Ph. D. in Sanskrit under Prof. H. D. Velankar with Sanskrit Linguistics as his subject and secured the Ph. D. degree of the Bombay University in 1940. He also studied Descriptive and Historical Linguistics at the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, for one year (1956-57) on a fellowship from the Rockefeller Foundation of New York.

After completing his education Dr. Ghatage took to teaching. He taught Pali and Prakrit, Sanskrit and Linguistics at different periods of time in his career. Under his guidance 22 post-graduate students got their Ph. D. degree. He was recognised to be an authority on Indo-European.

Dr. Ghatage was elected General President of the All India Oriental Conference in 1985. He presided over the first national Prakrit Conference held at Bangalore in 1990. Honours and Awards came his way rather late in his career. His fame as a versatile mind firmly rests on his outstanding

research work. About a score of works are to his credit, besides several research papers contributed to reputed research Journals. The fruits of his writings on a number of problems in Linguistics that were till now lying scattered in various issues of research Journals are now, thanks to Prof. M. A. Dhaky and Dr. J. B. Shah of Sharadaben Chimanbhai Educational Research Centre, Ahmedabad, collected together in a beautifully printed volume called *AMRITA*. It is bound to be helpful and beneficial to younger generations of scholars in Linguistics.

V. M. Kulkarni

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**TRANSLITERATION OF THE
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अ	a	औ	au	ठ	ṭha	ष	bha
आ	ā	क	ka	ड	ḍa	म	ma
इ	i	ख	kha	ढ	ḍha	य	ya
ई	ī	ग	ga	ण	ṇa	र	ra
उ	u	घ	gha	त	ta	ल	la
ऊ	ū	ङ	ṅa	ष	ṣha	व	va
ऋ	.....	ṛ	च	.....	ca	ष	.....	ṣa	श	.....	śa
ॠ	.....	ṝ	छ	.....	cha	घ	.....	gha	ष	.....	ṣa
ऌ	.....	ḷ	ज	.....	ja	न	.....	na	स	.....	sa
ॡ	.....	e	झ	.....	jha	प	.....	pa	ह	.....	ha
ऐ	.....	ai	ञ	.....	ña	फ	.....	pha	ळ	.....	ḷa
ओ	.....	o	ट	.....	ṭa	द	.....	da			
— (Anusvāra)		ṁ			ṁ	×		(Jihvāmūliya)			ḥ
~ (Anunāsika)		ṁ			ṁ	)		(Upadhmanīya)			ḥ
: (Visarga)		ḥ			ḥ	s		(Avagraha)			,

**TRANSLITERATION OF ARABIC AND
ALLIED ALPHABETS**

		ARABIC									
ا	a	ز	.....	z	ق	.....	q	ء	.....	i or e
ب	b	س	.....	s	ك	.....	k	ُ	.....	u or o
ت	t	ش	.....	sh	ل	.....	l	اَ	.....	ā
ث	th	ص	.....	ṣ	م	.....	m	ي	.....	i, e
ج	j	ض	.....	ḍ	ن	.....	n	و	.....	ū, ō
ح	h	ط	ṭ	ر	r	ى	ai, ay
خ	kh	ظ	ẓ	ذ	dh	وِ	au, aw
د	d	ع	ʿ	ي	y	ت	silent t h
ذ	dh	غ	gh	ا	a			
ر	r	ف	f	اِ	a			
		PERSIAN									
پ	p	چ	ch	ز	zh	گ	g

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